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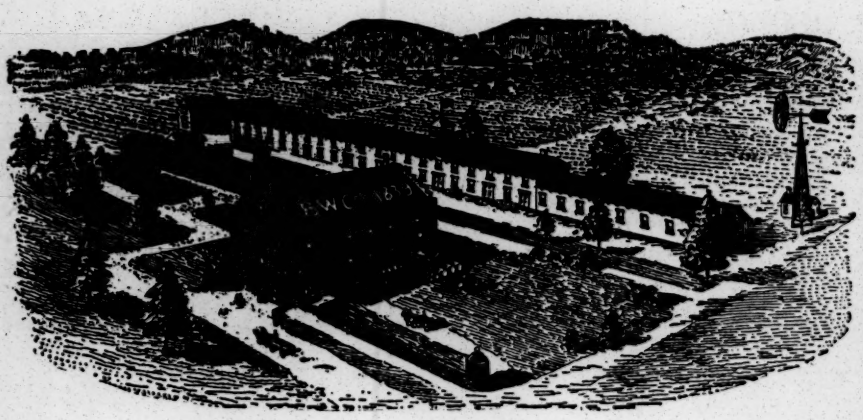

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THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

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✠ ✠ ✠

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PIUS THE GREAT

✠ ✠ ✠

SOME KEY-PASSAGES IN ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION MISINTERPRETED.

TWO admittedly authentic Latin writings of St. Patrick have come down to us: I. The treatise generally known as his *Confession* since this is his own name for it (Con. 62). Substantially it is an *apologia pro vita sua*, and consequently to a great extent autobiographical. Hence, as far as it is available for the purpose, it is the most authoritative extant source of information as to his life and acts; hence also it serves as an efficient and reliable check or corrective on the dubious statements, too often found to be mere assumption, of later uncritical or over-enthusiastic biographers. II. His *Epistle against Coroticus*, a tractate denouncing the outrages committed by a petty British ruler and marauder of that name on St. Patrick's Irish neo-converts, and excommunicating the perpetrator and his accomplices.

St. Patrick's Latin is not strictly classical; nevertheless it is a clear, vigorous, expressive style of Latin, neither obscure in diction nor involved in phraseology. Yet strange and unaccountable enough, the Patrician commentators and translators, as a rule, seem not rarely to encounter difficulties in handling, not to say in mastering it. This deficiency with its inevitable consequence of faulty exposition is, especially in regard to the *Confession*, an unfortunate one, for it has resulted in certain mistranslations and misinterpretations of text and context which, through continuous uncritical and quasi-mechanical repetition, have become almost traditional and, as it were, standarized explanations, and have led to contradictions, doubts, and errors in the exposition of the Saint's life history.

It is with the intention of pointing out a few of the more glaring, inveterate, and disastrous of these misconceptions and mistranslations, and of suggesting the true, or at least a more plausible translation, and of coming to a more correct interpretation in each case, that this paper is undertaken; in other words, it is an attempt at rectification long overdue.

Of these erroneous interpretations, perhaps the most peristent and pernicious, as it is far-reaching in its misleading implications, is the false construction put upon St. Patrick's statement regarding his boyhood home, reasonably presumed to have been

his birthplace. The importance of the subject in connexion with St. Patrick's authentic biography and chronology is evident; as also its bearing on the determination and identification of the Saint's native town, his nationality, family life, home environment, early education, etc. Hence, any adequate treatment of the subject makes a rather lengthy exposition inevitable. We have therefore decided to devote the space at present at our disposal to the discussion of this one topic, to the exclusion, at least for the present, of other equally notable and commonly accepted misinterpretations of certain statements made by St. Patrick in his *Confession*.

I. *Qui fuit vico Bannavem Taberniae.*

Mistranslated: "Who belonged to the village of Bannavem Taberniae". This faulty rendering involves three distinct errors of major import: 1. in assigning the English word "village" as the equivalent of the Latin term *vicus* in the *Confession*; 2. in declaring Bannavem, in reality a large town or city, to be a mere village; 3. in identifying this so-called "village" (*vicus*) with Bannavem itself; whereas it was only an extra-urban appurtenance or appenage, possibly a rural ward or borough, of the municipality of Bannavem.

St. Patrick in the opening statement of his *Confession* declares that his father, Calpornius, who was a deacon and the son of a priest named Potitus, belonged to, or lived in, a place which the Saint designates as *Vicus Bannavem Taberniae*: "Ego Patricius peccator, rusticissimus et minimus omnium Fidelium, et contemptibilissimus apud plurimos, patrem habui Calpornium diaconum fillium quondam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit vico Bannavem Taberniae; villulam enim prope habuit ubi ego in capturam dedi." [1]

Of the numerous Patrician biographers and commentators only two seem to have detected anything amiss with the faulty translation (i. e. "who belonged to the village of Bannavem Taberniae") which has enjoyed such an enduring vogue. (a) Professor J. B. Bury, M.A., in his famous *Life of St. Patrick* (1905), explains incorrectly, however, that "the village of Bannavem must have been in the neighborhood of a town possessing a municipal council of decurions to which Calpornius

[1] *Con.* 1; text of the *Book of Armagh*.

belonged" (pp. 16-17). St. Patrick elsewhere states that his father, Calpornius, was a Roman decurion (of the civil class), *decurione patre nascor*.[2] Bury, an admitted authority on Roman administration (he discusses the status of Roman decurions at some length in the *Life*, pp. 17, 21, and 290), well aware that a mere village could lay claim to no such imperial administrative officials, rightly conjectures that the "village" must be connected with some considerable municipality; but he seems strangely blind, while seeing so much, in not perceiving also that Bannavem was the name of the municipality to which the *vicus* belonged, and not the name of the *vicus* or "village" itself, which remains unnamed in the *Confession*, if indeed it had a name.

(b) Canon Fleming, seeing that "village" could not be the true translation of *vicus* in the text, declares "the village of Bannavem a misinterpretation," and approximates to, but somewhat misses, the true meaning, when he translates or rather interprets: "who lived in a district of Bannavem,"[3] "who hailed from the suburbs of Bannavem."[4]

Now since this is the sole authentic and authoritative statement we have, naming St. Patrick's home-town, and is moreover his own declaration, it is all important to make certain of its true meaning and import.

For this purpose it is necessary, in the first place, to have a clear and correct idea of the true meaning of the term *vicus* and the precise signification it bears in the *Confession*. It cannot be denied that in classical Latin, as indeed in late and low Latin also, the word *vicus* ordinarily, and more often than not, meant a

[2] Ep. 10. A decurion of the civil order was a municipal councillor, ranking next to a senator, usually magistrate also, of a town or city with corporate rights of self-government. He was supervisor of the local imperial taxes, and as such must be a landed proprietor, owning property in or near such free city or municipality. The fact that St. Patrick's father exercised such an office and was a deacon besides, while his grandfather, Potitus, was a priest, and probably decurion also, sheds a flood of light on some obscure points in the context usually evaded by the commentators; e. g. why St. Patrick in a formal and semi-official document mentions a mere *vicus* as his place of residence, why he declares himself of clerical as well as of patrician (i. e. noble, or at least freeborn Roman) lineage, etc. The boyhood environment of St. Patrick goes far to refute also the oft-repeated allegation that he was born and bred in Great Britain. Regular Roman administration, obviously regularly and normally in force at this period at Bannavem Taberniae, had long since broken down in Great Britain, and in fact had entirely disappeared from that province in the days of St. Patrick's boyhood.

[3] *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 189.

[4] *Boulogne, St. Patrick's Native Town*, p. 17.

village in the generic sense of the term; that is, it was a word applicable to any and every description of village. But at times we find it used, not in this comprehensive and generic sense, but as having a restricted and specific meaning, that is, denoting a particular kind of village and not applicable to any and every kind of village. It is our aim to prove that the Latin word *vicus* is used in the *Confession* in a definitely specific sense, and therefore its English equivalent is not and cannot be the generic term " village ".

Secondly, for the sake of clearness and exactness in this matter of terminology, it will not be amiss to state that the English word " village " invariably means a small group of dwellings in a country district, or the abode of a small rural community, and never has any other signification; in other words, and to express it technically, it is a univocal term. The Latin word *vicus* on the other hand is an analogical term; that is, a word like " bright," for instance, which may have different meanings but bearing some relation or proportion to each other, as a " bright light," a " bright student," a " bright idea." The name *vicus*, it may be noted, is a scriptural word (vulgate version); even in Holy Scripture it is not always used in the same sense. The town or village of Bethsaida is called a *vicus* (Mark 8: 23); *vicos* (Mark 6: 36) is translated in the Douay version as " towns "; St. Luke calls Straight Street, Damascus, a *vicus* (Acts 9: 11); he also denominates a street in Jerusalem *vicum* (Acts 12: 10).

Vicus, however, nearly always meant a rural village or hamlet, i. e. a collection of homes in a country district; also the aggregation of farm buildings on a country estate was sometimes called a *vicus*. Not rarely, as just indicated, the term has an urban application; in this sense it designated (a) a city ward or borough, (b) a city street.[5]

Very often the meaning of a word changes or becomes somewhat modified from one cause or another with the passage of time. Such is the history of the word *vicus*. The chief cause operating in this case was the gradual surrender of paganism

[5] In his *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* Stephanus defines: " Vicus pars urbis est et ex pluribus vicis urbs constat." He adds: " In Rome, it was said, there were forty *vici*." " Vicus ruris sive rusticus dicitur quum plures simul villae, quae pagi dicuntur, hoc est, plures rusticanae domus conjunctae sint et aliquo spatio remotae ab urbe, dummodo non sint clausae moenibus."

to Christianity. Always and ever the term *vicus* seems to have had a more or less definite religious connotation; at first pagan, afterward Christian, later on ecclesiastical.

It was in the towns and cities that the gospel was first propagated and where it soon dislodged paganism; but for a long time—the first three centuries and a half in fact—the country districts were the stronghold of the old gentile religion. However, in contrast to Christianity, paganism was a local cult; every district, every city, every town and village had its own favorite god or goddess, with its local shrine or temple and special cult of the *numen*. In the fourth century the new religion began to dominate and supplant the ancient gentile worship even in the remotest rural localities. The great missionary activity carried on during the fifth and sixth centuries in the rural districts of the decadent Roman empire resulted in the practical disappearance of paganism from these regions by the end of the seventh century.

Accordingly with fourth-century and earlier writers, the term *vicus* meant a rural village, that is, an aggregation of pagan homesteads in a country district, having its own local fane (*templum*, *delubrum*, or *ara numinis*); and since it was understood to have precisely this signification and no other, seldom or ever do we find attached to it in contemporary authors any qualifying adjective to modify its accepted and invariable meaning. Authors of the succeeding centuries, however, when having occasion to use this word, nearly always indicate either explicitly or implicitly whether the reference is to a *vicus paganus* or a *vicus Christianus*, although *vicus* without qualification at and from this time forth (i. e. fifth and sixth centuries) meant a rural community of Christians. In the historical writings of Sulpitius Severus (360-425) and of St. Gregory of Tours (540-595) there is hardly a page on which this term does not occur. We find such expressions as: "Vicus quem christianorum vocant," [6] "nemo in illo vico noverat Christianum;" [7] in his *Life of Blessed Monegundis*, St. Gregory states: "Venit ad vicum urbis Turonicae, cui nomen est Evena, in quo Beati

[6] St. Gregory of Tours. *Hist. Franc.* Lib. I. ch. 31. (Apud Migne, *Pat. Lat.* Vol. 71—p. 177.)

[7] Sulpitius Severus, *Dialogus II 4* (Migne *Pat. Lat.* Vol. 20—p. 204).

Metardi Suessionenci confessoris reliquiae continentur;" [8] here the shrine of the saint seems to be designated *vicus*. In the fourth century therefore, that is, in St. Martin's time, the name *vicus* was beginning to lose its pagan, and acquire a Christian implication; a little later on, that is, in St. Patrick's time it seems to have assumed a distinctively ecclesiastical signification. St. Gregory of Tours in his *History of the Franks*, completed in 593, exactly a hundred years after St. Patrick's death, when dealing with this period, uses the word *vicus* to denote a community of Christians inhabiting a country district and organized on parish lines with church and clergy, but not yet strong enough to form an independent ecclesiastical unit, and therefore dependent on, or affiliated to a nearby urban or cathedral church. Hence he mentions in the citation given above that the *vicus Evena* was connected with the city of Tours; and just in the same way St. Patrick states that the *vicus* in which his father lived, or had his villa, was the *vicus Bannavem* (more fully expressed it would be " vicus urbis Bannavemensis "), a *vicus* connected with the city of Bannavem.[9]

Thus far we have endeavored to fix the exact signification of the term *vicus* at the time St. Patrick wrote, for this is the precise meaning it bears in the *Confession*. At this period, therefore, the term *vicus* meant (a) in its ecclesiastical signification, the sense namely in which St. Patrick used the term, a small rural community of Christians having their own church and pastor, or church administrator, but subordinate to and dependent on a central city or cathedral parish; (b) in its political or civic import it constituted or formed part of a rural ward or borough of the municipality with which it was connected.

In order to show that the statements made and explanations given above are no mere theoretical speculations or unwarranted

[8] S. Greg. Tour. *Vitae Patrum* XIX 2 (Migne *Pat. Lat.* Vol. 71—p. 1089). Conf. also S. Greg. Tour. *Hist. Franc.* Lib. X. ch. 31 and Sulp. Sev. *Dial. II*-8, *Dial. III*-8 and 13, *Vita Sti. Martini*, Secs. 13 and 14.

[9] We find D'Arnis (*Lex. Med. et Inf. Lat.*) under the word *vicus* referring to *vicus canonicus*, " which pertained to the cathedral chapter," and to *vicus publicus*, " which pertained to the exchequer and was not conferred as a benefice,' (i. e., by royal, or possibly episcopal favor). These references definitely indicate that during the early Middle Ages the term *vicus* frequently, or rather invariably, conveyed a religious or ecclesiastical implication; an implication which the commentators and translators of the *Confession* seem to have entirely overlooked.

assumptions, it will be proper to present now a few authoritative citations confirmative of the authentic character and historical validity of these statements and deductions.

Our first citation is from the *Life of St. Victricius* in the series of Les Saints, edited by Henri Joly, Paris, 1903.[10]

The fourth century saw the beginning of rural parishes in Gaul. St. Martin was the first to organize them. According to a Rouen tradition however, St. Mellon, who died shortly before the year 400, founded in the center of his extensive diocese a church and parish which was to bear his name, Hericourt-en-Caux, for a long time known by the name Bourg-Saint-Mellon. This was altogether exceptional. The first bishops of Rouen and their confrères, contemporary bishops, were content to form solid and compact congregations in their episcopal cities, and did not attempt to establish country parishes until they had recruited a numerous and pious body of clergy fit to administer them. It is along the Roman roads that traverse the vast diocese of Rouen that the Gospel was first propagated throughout the region. It is notable that the five or six hamlets (bourgades), or *vici* which St. Martin formed into parishes were situated at the junctions, or along the routes of Roman roads. These locations were somewhat important rural centers. The rest of the inhabitants, slaves and tillers of the soil, lived in isolation on the signorial estates. The territory where St. Victricius exercised his zeal was of similar character. It may be presumed therefore that the *vici* of the diocese of Rouen which figure in the *Itineraries* of this period, such as Pontiose, Lillibonne, Petromantela, Radepont, Brionne, Hafleur, and others the names of which have not survived, were provided with a church toward the end of the fourth century. The manner in which the bishop initiated these rural parishes is known. A sermon preached to a pagan population led to some conversions. [Sulpitius Severus, *Dialogus II* 4, tells how St. Martin on his way to Chartres converted the pagan inhabitants of a *vicus: Dum vicum quemdam praeterimus* etc. Footnote, p. 111.] When the newly

[10] St. Victricius, born 330 A. D. was seventh bishop of Rouen from about 380 to 408 A. D. He was therefore a younger contemporary of St. Martin of Tours, and an older contemporary of St. Patrick, having been consecrated bishop when St. Patrick was eight years old. St. Patrick mentions him in the *Confession* in terms that would indicate a close acquaintance with him. In recording the divine admonition he received while sojourning with his parents in Gaul after his flight from servitude in Ireland, he declares: "And there indeed I beheld in a vision of the night a man whose name was Victricius coming as it were from Ireland with letters innumerable. And he handed me one of them, and I read the beginning of the letter entitled: "The Voice of the Irish" (Con. 23). This was about the year 395 A. D. when St. Patrick was a youth of 22, and St. Victricius a man of 65, already a bishop and noted for his missionary labors in Armorica and throughout northern Gaul. (Vide *Epistolas S. Paulini No. 1.*)

baptized were numerous enough to constitute a small Christian congregation the bishop placed a priest from his *presbyterium* in charge, to whom he assigned as assistants some of his clerics or monks; a church was built by the side of, or on the site of the former pagan temple, and religious services organized on the model of those performed in the episcopal or urban church. Thus Gregory of Tours describes the work of St. Martin in the diocese of Tours, and according to Paulinus of Nola, Victricius followed the same method among the Morini (people of Amorica). Thus gradually was the countryside brought under the influence of Christianity; but it was only the seventh century that saw the end of paganism.[11]

Accordingly for fourth-century writers, and earlier authors, the term *vicus* meant a rural village; that is, an aggregation of pagan homesteads in a country district, having its own local fane or temple. And since, at that period, it was understood to have precisely this signification and no other, seldom if ever in the authors of this period do we find attached to it a qualifying adjective to modify its invariable meaning of *vicus paganus.*

In authors of the fifth and sixth century however—for instance, in the writings of Sulpitius Severus (360-425), and of St. Gregory of Tours (540-595)—we frequently find such expressions as *vicus paganus, vicus christianorum.* At the end of his *History of the Franks*, St. Gregory adds by way of epilogue a " Recapitulatio de Episcopis Turonicis ".[12] In this Summary of the Bishops of Tours, of whom he himself was the nineteenth, the word *vicus* repeatedly recurs, and always in a religious or ecclesiastical connexion. Of Gatianus, the first bishop of Tours, it is recorded: " Sepultus est in ipsius vici coemeterio quod fuit Christianorum; " of St. Martin, the third bishop: " Obiit apud Condatensem (Candes) vicum urbis suae, anno octingentesimo primo aetatis. De quo vico navagio sublatus, Turonis sepultus est." Amongst St. Martin's notable deeds is commemorated: "Aedificavit ecclesias in vicis," of which five are named. Of Briccius, the fourth bishop, it is noted: " Hunc ferunt instituisse ecclesias per vicos," also five mentioned by name. The fifth prelate, Eustochius, and the sixth, Perpetuus, each provided five *vici* with churches. Bishops Volusianus, Injuriosius, and Baudinus, seventh, fifteenth and sixteenth respectively, are

[11] *St. Victrice*, par l'Abbé E. Vacanard, pp. 110-112.

[12] *Historia Francorum*, L. X. C. 31.

credited with having founded and erected *vici*, where the term would seem to be applied to the ecclesiastical foundation itself, i. e. religious, educational, charitable, or ecclesiastical establishment.

It may be fairly claimed, we think, that the evidence thus far adduced, supported by the testimony of the historical authorities cited, amply justifies the following conclusion: The Latin word *vicus* in St. Patrick's *Confession* is used by the writer, and intended to be understood by his readers, to convey a definite and specific meaning which is by no means expressed or implied by the indefinite and generic English word " village ". The English word means village in a general sense, i. e. as applicable to any type of village. The Latin word (*vico* in the *Conf.*) denotes a very distinctive kind of village, i. e. the rural abode of a Catholic community or congregation not fully autonomous as a canonically constituted parish, but subject to urban surveillance and jurisdiction; in other words, a country parish that was in some way affiliated and subordinate to, and under the patronage of a city parish. If there is an English word that denotes specifically such a congregation or community, that word is the correct equivalent of *vicus* in the *Confession*. The word " out-parish " seems to be the appropriate term; [13] hence we propose as the right translation of *qui fuit vico Bannavem Taberniae*, " who resided in an out-parish of Bannavem Taberniae ".

With the true meaning of *vicus* once determined, some of the other errors involved in the mistranslation, " the village of Bannavem," as well as their corrections, become immediately evident. These errors are: (a) the identification of the *vicus* or " village " with Bannavem itself, which was by no means a " *vicus* ", but a considerable town or city; (b) taking the name *Bannavem* to be that of the *vicus*. If the phrase " qui fuit vico Bannavem " were written in fuller form it should read: " qui fuit vico urbis Bannavemensis " (or possible *Bononiae*), as in the cognate expressions quoted above referring to the *vici Evena* and *Condatensis*: " Venit ad vicum urbis Turonicae cui nomen est Evena," " obiit apud Condatensem vicum urbis suae ". And

[13] *Out-parish* is defined by the *Century Dictionary* as: "A rural parish, as distinguished from an urban or a burghal parish; also, a parish lying outside some place of more consequence; " and by *Webster's International* as " a parish outside the walls or limits of a town or city; also, a rural or outlying parish ".

as it would be absurd to translate these expressions: " He came to the village of the city of Tours," " He died at Candes a village of his city," so it is equally absurd to translate " fuit vico Bannavem " — be belonged to the village of (the city of) Bannavem.[14]

The so-called " village " or *vicus* was the abode of a rural or probably suburban congregation affiliated and subordinate to some principal and parent parish of the city of Bannavem. It was a *parochia filialis ruralis* of a *parochia matrix urbana*, or, as we should describe it today, a country mission attached to a city parish, with its own rector or priest in charge. It is therefore a grave mistake to identify the *vicus* with the municipality of Bannavem, or to assume that the name of the *vicus* (unnamed in the text) was Bannavem.

The text correctly understood implies that Bannavem was St. Patrick's native town. As a government agent and city official, his father Calpornius would be obliged to spend most of his time in the city; undoubtedly he would maintain there a town house as his official and chief place of residence; it would be the principal and real home of the family,[15] while the *villula* in the country, though really a rather lordly mansion as may be inferred from the extensive household maintained there,[16] was no more than a place of temporary abode, an alternative and secondary home.[17]

Critics of censorious type, addicted to the engaging pastime of picking flaws in St. Patrick's style and story, are wont to ask, intending the question as a sort of reproof: why should a

[14] If the term *vicus* bore an urban signification, the proper translation would be: " He belonged to a borough (or ward) of the city of Bannavem." The context clearly shows, however, that the *vicus* of the *Confession* was a rural community. In the phrase " qui fuit vico Bannavem " the translators erroneously take the noun *Bannavem* to be, as the grammarians say, in the ablative case in apposition with the noun *vico*, whereas it is a genitive case dependent on *vico*.

[15] Official business would doubtless be transacted in a public office or administrative bureau (government building); but naturally, being a family man, he would have a private home there.

[16] " that nation which . . . ravaged the menservants and maidservants of my father's house " (*Ep. ad Cor.*, 10).

[17] The name *villula* is significant; diminutive of *villa*, it means literally a small *villa*. It is a term used frequently by Cicero in referring to his country retreats, which were by no means inconsiderable in size, equipment or elegance. The term used by St. Patrick does not imply that the *villula* was small or unpretentious in size or appointments, but rather that it was secondary or subordinate in importance as a family home; the chief residence and home being in the city. Country mansions then, as they do frequently now, surpassed town houses in size and style.

supposedly sensible and serious-minded man, in attaching to a public and formal document his name and address presumably for the information of his readers, or to give the document more official form, stoop to what must be considered as a piece of senseless, frivolous and misplaced levity by indicating as his paternal home such an insignificant, abject and outlandish place as a mere noteless and unknown rural hamlet? Now in the light of the true interpretation of St. Patrick's statement, the proposed question turns out to be rather pointless, and the implied rebuke very much of a dud. Moreover, the Saint's object in recording these personal details was by no means so nugatory as these carping critics would imply; he tells us again and again that his main object in writing the *Confession* was to make public acknowledgment of the great favors and graces conferred by God upon himself and those of whom he was the instrument of salvation. " Wherefore I cannot be silent—nor would it be right—regarding the great benefits and great grace the Lord deigned to grant me in the land of my captivity; because this is the return we can make after we have been chastened and come to the knowledge of God, that we should exalt and proclaim His wonderful works before every creature under high heaven " (*Con.* 3). " Wherefore I ought to cry out mightily, so that I also may render something to the Lord for his great benefits here and in eternity " (*Con.* 12). "And I was not worthy, nor such that the Lord should grant this to his servant that, after afflictions and such great obstacles, after captivity, after many years, He should, in regard to that nation, bestow upon me so great a grace, a thing that formerly in my youth, I never hoped for or thought of " (*Con.* 15). This was his object in penning the *Confession*, and this his motive in mentioning the *vicus Bannavem* with all it implied: to show how under God's providence his boyhood experience and environment and especially the misfortunes and handicaps of his youth were turned into stepping-stones leading to the great Irish apostolate.

Patrician critics of the modern school, of whom Professor Bury is chief paladin, insisting that St. Patrick was English or British born, are persuaded (or rather persuade themselves) that his boyhood home, the famous *vicus* of the *Confession,* must be sought for in Great Britain, preferably in Scotland (Cardinal

Moran, Archbishop Healy, D'Alton, Skene) or Wales (Bury, MacNeill, Mons. Malone, Fr. Berry, C.S.S.R.); but they only engage in a wild goose chase in perusing Itineraries, Ancient Geographies, Maps, Catalogues of Place-Names, Tax Lists, etc. in the hope of coming across some village of Bannavem within the borders of Great Britain. Bannavem is not a British-Roman name but a purely Celtic one (*Bunamhain*). Moreover, Bannavem was not a village but a municipality of note, " no mean city ". One of the latest of these deluded searchers is Mr. C. H. Wheeler, who in an erudite article in the *English Historical Review*[18] from sources named by him as " the inscription on the Rudge Cup " and a " road map by the Cosmographer of Ravenna," identifies the *vicus* as *Banna* (Bewcastle in Cumberlandshire) and the municipality with which *Banna* was connected as *Luguvallium* (Carlisle). He claims " there was a fort at Bewcastle and persumably also a *vicus* or civilian settlement; " and says: " . . . there is the possibility that the province of Valentia was given at least one municipality; the most likely place for the seat of the municipality, if there was one, is Carlisle." It seems the author considers it no drawback to his theory that the *vicus Banna* and the municipality of *Luguvallium* were in different Roman provinces (or rather, former Roman provinces). Moreover, this theory is based upon Bury's misinterpretation that *Bannavem* is the name of the *vicus* of an unnamed municipality, whereas in reality *Bannavem* was the municipality connected with the unnamed *vicus*. On such shaky foundations do the protagonists of the " British birthplace " place their reliance, i. e. misinterpretations, mere " presumptions," and far-fetched " possibilities ".[19]

It may be noted that the school of Patrician commentators virtually founded by Professor Bury, in order to give plausibility to their respective conjectures do not hesitate to mutilate and manipulate the name *Bannavem Taberniae*, transposing the com-

[18] Vol. L, No. 197, Jan., 1935.

[19] Mr. Wheeler seems to regard his identification of *Banna* (Bewcastle) in Cumberland as an original discovery of his own. But a Frenchman, Abbé Riguet, a priest of the diocese of Orleans, France, made this identification more than twenty years previously. In his *Vie de St. Patrice* in *Les Saints* series, he writes: " I should be rather inclined to identify the Saint's country with the mysterious *Banna* near Carlisle. This was in the neighborhood of the Pict's Wall (Wall of Hadrian), on the boundaries of the province of Valentia, which Theodosius re-organized in 369." (*St. Patrick*, by the Abbé Riguet; translated by C. W. W., Benziger Brothers, 1913.)

ponent syllables or substituting others, as occasion demands. For instance, the wording of the text " Qui fuit vico Bannavem Taberniae " is read (a) by Wheeler as " Qui fuit de vico Banna (No) vem Taberni (s)." He claims *Novem Tabernis* was simply an alternative name for *Banna.* (b) Bury's reading: " Qui fuit vico Bannaventa Berniae ". He states that Mr. Haverfield (*Eng. Hist. Review*, V, p. 711), and Mr. Nicholson (*Academy*, 11 May, 1895) identify the place designated by St. Patrick as *Bannaventa* near Daventry in Northamptonshire, but rejects the identification, as the place is too far inland.[20] These writers seem to be unaware that this very identification was mentioned by the Bollandists only to be rejected by them two and a half centuries previously.[21] Bury finally conjectured that " St. Patrick's home should be sought near the Severn in the Bristol Channel; the existence of three places named *Banwen* (which may represent *Bannaventa*) in Glamorganshire opens a prospect that the solution may possibly lie there." [22] The Bollandists also rejected this identification, which they say was proposed by Camden. (c) Eoin MacNeill's reading: " Qui fuit vico Gobanni Ventae Burrinae; " thus he combines the names *Gobannium* (Abergavenny), *Venta* (Caervent), *Burrium* (Usk). He claims the original phrase, written by St. Patrick, contained these names, and to crown the absurdity he gratuitously upbraids St. Patrick for " having his orthography as faulty as his grammar and idiom ".[23] (d) Donald Attwater in the *Commonweal*, 18 March, 1931, reports: " Mr. Kyrle Fletcher, an Englishman living in South Wales," as the discoverer of a new birthplace of St. Patrick. It is *Banna Venta Aber.* " *Bannium in Gwent*," declares Mr. Attwater, " must be St. Patrick's *Banna Venta*, because *Banna Venta* is Welsh for the ' hills of Gwent ' ". So, then St. Patrick did not write *Bannavem Taberniae*, but *Banna Venta Aber*, expressing it for emphasis in the Welsh idiom.

It would be overstepping all due limits, as well as exceeding the scope of this paper, to notice all, or even any more of the various attempts made by authors of less note than those cited,

[20] *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 322.

[21] *Acta Sanctorum*, Vol. VIII, p. 514.

[22] *Life of St. Patrick*, Preface X.

[23] *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, March, 1926.

to identify the *vicus Bannavem*, during the period that, following Professor Bury's lead, the favorite hunting-ground for would-be discoverers of St. Patrick's birthplace has been shifted from the estuary of the Clyde in South Scotland to the estuary of the Severn in South Wales. The theory of the Scotch birthplace, which up to the beginning of the present century continued to enjoy a great vogue, is now practically abandoned and has become quite obsolete. It may be noted that the reasons for abandoning it militate just as strongly against the theory of the Welsh birthplace.

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IRRESISTIBLE IMPULSES.

A Question of Moral Psychology.

MANY people refer to irresistible impulses as a valid excuse for some kind of misbehavior. Many a rash act is attributed to such impulses. Many an immoral deed is believed to be excusable because it allegedly sprang from strange and irresistible forces. The criminal will plead not guilty, on the claim that he did not really want to commit a crime, but became the victim of an irresistible impulse. And quite often the psychiatrist will confirm the statement of the defendant. As the criminal pleads not guilty in court, so do many people in the forum of their conscience and in the confessional. They do the same thing in private life when they have offended another or are criticized by others. The notion of irresistible impulses has found entrance into penal law; it has become generally recognized; everyone may avail himself of it. But this notion is far from being as clear and as well defined as one would wish it to be. Little is known about the criteria which may allow one to discover whether or not the statement of the culprit or the sinner is true. Unless we know more of these impulses, we may accept too easily the statement of these people that they " could not help it," or we may, on the other hand, be too ready to disbelieve them. It is therefore worth while to consider this problem.

The discussion shall be limited to normal persons, that is, to persons whose reason and will are not impaired by brain-trouble or by a real mental disease. The question of responsibility in insane people is much too complicated to be treated here.

There is, in a recently published book on *Honesty*, by Richard C. Cabot,[1] a remark which may well serve as a starting-point of the discussion. Quoting from Wellman's works on the *Art of Cross-Examination*, Dr. Cabot mentions a case in which the defendant had pleaded not guilty because of having acted under an irresistible impulse and the psychiatrist whom the judge asked to give his opinion confirmed the statement of the accused; thereupon the judge asked the psychiatrist, whether the accused would have acted in the same manner if a policeman had been

[1] Macmillan, New York, 1938, p. 269.

present. The psychiatrist immediately replied in the negative. The judge concluded that the impulse seems to be irresistible in every case excepted in presence of a policeman. The judge, the scholarly author of the book on cross-examination, and Dr. Cabot himself evidently believe that an impulse to be irresistible has to be so under whatever circumstances. This idea, however, is far from being right.

Even reactions belonging to a lower level than true actions do depend on circumstances. Physiology used to define reflexes as automatic reactions following with absolute regularity the stimulation of some receptory field, and developing without the interference of consciousness and will. Though this definition holds good for the average case, it has nevertheless been shown to be too narrow and too much influenced by a merely mechanical conception of the living organism in general and the human being in particular. Physiology has discovered what some call today the " plasticity of the nervous reactions ". Though the reflexes are due to the function of preëstablished anatomical structures and physiological functions, they may become modified by the general situation of the organism. Instinctive behavior in some animals is not only very complicated, but shows —notwithstanding the essential rigidity of instinct-reactions— a certain plasticity and adaptability to circumstances. This is, of course, true in a still higher sense of human actions. It is quite possible for an impulse to be irresistible under certain circumstances and to become inhibited by other factors. The fact that the culprit would have not committed the criminal deed, had he been aware of the presence of a policeman, is no valid objection against his having acted under the pressure of an irresistible impulse. Irresistibility is not a fixed quality adhering to the impulse under all circumstances whatever and remaining unchanged when these circumstances are different. Not even a chemical process develops always in exactly the same manner, if the circumstances—as, e. g., temperature, acidity, concentration, etc.—become different. There is no reason to assume such an absolute constancy for impulses.

The man who committed a crime because unhappily no policeman was in sight, is not held back by the idea of law, of crime, of punishment, or of their visible representative, the policeman; for an idea or a memory is never as powerful as

an immediate and actual impression. It is also quite probable that a man acting under such an impulse does not even for one short moment think of all these things. To have them in mind in a moment, where passion or some impulse becomes dominant, is only possible if a long training has been gone through previously and a habit has been developed. But one can hardly expect all people to develop conscientiously such a habit.

There are, perhaps, some impulses so powerful that they would overcome even the inhibitory force that the presence of a policeman may exercise. This may even be the case with a person whose mind is quite unimpaired; it is much more the case with one whose mind has been weakened by the action of some drug, be extreme fatigue, by long mental strain, or by momentary passion. Even in such a state a man may act apparently quite reasonably. The apparent reasonablness of behavior is indeed no objection against the assertion that the deed had been committed in an abnormal state of consciousness. We know that some patients may act reasonably, choose the appropriate means, execute some purposes, though their state of mind is definitely quite abnormal; this is observed, for instance, in cases of what is called crepuscular states in epileptics. Such a man may do quite complicated acts, travel for days, behave so that nobody even suspects his being mentally disturbed, and nevertheless he may be in an absolutely abnormal state of mind. There are also, within normality, certain states of monoideistic narrowing of consciousness, in which the subject may act quite reasonably in regard to his one dominant purpose, while no other thought can enter the mind and while, accordingly, no motives counteracting his idea ever can become efficient.

If we want to form an opinion on the irresistibility of a certain impulse, we have to consider not this impulse as such but the totality of the conditions, inner and outer, existing at the moment of action. The habit of isolating certain features of a situation—by which term we understand the totality of all subjective and objective features—and to treat them as if they were solid and immutable things, becomes definitely disastrous. A human action can be really understood only if it is viewed in its totality.

It is therefore impossible to declare, once and for all, that a given impulse is irresistible or that it is not. It may be irresis-

tible, in the self-same individual, one day and may not be so on another day. It is a truism to state, *si duo faciunt idem non est idem*. But is a too often neglected truth that the " same " action of one individual may have quite different motives, a different meaning, and carry a different responsibility each time it is executed. In the average we may, of course, rely on the constancy of motives and significations; but we should never forget that such changes may eventually take place. Every action, whether of two people or of the same person, has to be judged— by principle — separately and according to the conditions obtaining at the time it is done.

A person who is as a rule not subject to irresistible impulses may one day become the victim of one; an action we may, with good reason, believe to be due to the operation of such an impulse may, when repeated at another time, spring from free will or, at least, be not as irresistible as it was on a previous occasion. We may err on both sides, if we do not bear this fact in mind.

One has to distinguish the objective irresistibility of an impulse and the subjective conviction that such is the case. If this conviction is genuine, there is no great difference from the point of view of responsibility, but there is quite a marked one from the point of view of psychology, and there is one too in regard of " treatment ". If a person is fully convinced of there being no chance of resistance, he will give way to an impulse even if it is not objectively irresistible. This is particularly true of impulses which, by their nature and their goals, are felt to be pathological or, at least, abnormal. It is a very common, though thoroughly mistaken, idea that a pathological impulse is irresistible *ipso facto*. This opinion is held not only by laymen, but also by many psychiatrists, physicians, moralists and confessors. It is justified neither by fact nor by philosophy. It is mostly due to a basically wrong conception of human nature. It is one of the great misfortunes of modern thought that there are so many heterogeneous and heretical ideas which nobody can avoid, and that these ideas, like a contagion, get hold also of minds which, by principle, are absolutely opposed to the philosophy responsible for these ideas. It is always useful to investigate the origin of ideas and to reveal their philosophical background.

The idea that it is enough for an impulse to be pathological to become irresistible is closely related to other conceptions which are generally, though not always consciously, accepted by the modern mind. Mankind today is manifestly unwilling to believe in the existence of sin. This unwillingness is not due to religious unbelief. Not sin as a theological notion is rejected, but the idea seems to have become unacceptable that man can, by his own free will, do the evil. This attitude goes back, probably, to Rousseau and the French Revolution. It is partly a reaction against the view of Protestant theology which declared human nature to be irreparably spoiled by original sin; not even Divine grace can repair the damage caused by the fall; it is God's mercy alone which, like a cloak, is laid over the essentially deformed soul, hiding its basic sinfulness. We see this kind of mentality still at work in Kant's idea that man is " radically " bad. The right balance, held so carefully by Catholic theology, the idea that man by original sin had become *spoliatus gratuitis, diminutus in naturalibus*, as it is put by the *Magister Sententiarum*, had been replaced by an extremely pessimistic notion. All extreme ideas have a tendency to bring forth, by way of reaction, their very opposite. Thus we see that, instead of the pessimistic conception of man's radical badness, in the mind of Rousseau—we should not forget that he grew up in Calvinistic Geneva—there arose the idea that man is " born good " and that all evil is due only to environmental factors. The notion of original sin, even as conceived by Catholic theology, is of course incompatible with this view. Much more incompatible is the Protestant idea. The century of Rousseau and the French Revolution saw the birth of a new " Humanism," a philosophy which made man the very centre and the summit of reality. Every wave of humanism that ever swept over the Christian world brought with it this incapacity to understand the notion of sin, especially original sin. This becomes very evident, for instance, to the student of the heresies of the twelfth century which in many of their aspects remind one of heresies of the sixteenth century.

If man is born good, his evil actions must spring from reasons alien to human nature. Sin, immoral behavior—or what to the modern mind becomes their equivalent: antisocial action—cannot be due to human nature itself. It has to be attributed to

other factors, be they environmental forces or accidental modifications of human nature, like disease or the inheritance of pathological and abnormal characters. To safeguard the nobility and absolute supremacy of human nature these forces have to be subjected to irresistibility. If there existed still a small influence of intellect and will, the bad deed would again become the result of human nature itself. Human nature can be conceived as being essentially good only if either the idea of freedom is abandoned altogether or if it is, at least, rejected in the case of criminals, sinners or other wrongdoers. Materialistic mechanism and moral determinism could never have got hold of the modern mind, if the true notion of original sin—and, accordingly, of human nature—had not first been destroyed.

Thus, crime, misbehavior of every kind, moral defects have come to be considered as the effect of extra-personal causes. Pathological impulses are, accordingly, viewed as being essentially irresistible, because otherwise the supremacy of human nature would suffer. The *mysterium iniquitatis* is indeed one of the strongest arguments in favor of a theocentric philosophy.

A man who believes his impulses to be irresistible because he feels them to be abnormal or because he has been told that they are, generally does not know of the reasons from which his belief springs. He may even adhere, and *bona fide* too, to a philosophy whose principles contradict his belief. We recall the case of a man, a Catholic, a teacher in a Catholic boarding school, who was addicted to some pederastic perversion and who sought help, because he trembled for his position and feared to get in conflict with the penal law. When he was asked why he did not refrain from his perverse acts, he was quite dumbfounded and replied: "How can I? These are abnormal impulses." He had never even thought of resisting, so strong was his conviction that all effort would be in vain, because abnormal impulses were, he believed, irresistible. When told that this was quite wrong he felt encouraged to attempt resistance; he was amazed to discover that he need not yield to the impulses.

Why, indeed, should anyone suppose that, a homosexual impulse, for instances, is essentially irresistible, when we expect people to resist the normal impulses of sexuality? Unless a homosexual is—which indeed is the case with several of them—

a thoroughly abnormal personality whose perversion is but one symptom of a general neurosis, he is as capable of refraining from indulging in his abnormal sexual impulses as a normal person is in face of heterosexual impulses.

The abnormality of an impulse as such is not a proof of irresistibility and therefore not a valid excuse. It presents, moreover, the danger of confusing what may be but a strong temptation or attraction with a real impulse.

Irresistibility may result from two factors that should be carefully distinguished, because the psychological background is different in each of them. The overpowering strength of the impulsive situation may arise from the force of the impulse or from the knowledge that by not giving way to it some other phenomena are sure to occur which are felt to be intolerable. In the second case the irresistibility is not from the impulse itself but accidental to it, though not less effective. This is observed, for example, in many cases of compulsory neurosis: the patient knows that he is capable of offering resistance to the impulse, at least for a time, but that by doing so he will bring about, say, an unsupportable fit of anxiety, or he fears that the idea of not doing the thing will stay on and incapacitate him for doing anything. He foresees that he will have to give in anyhow, and thus it is much simpler to do it the moment the impulse is felt.

Many of these impulses, especially in compulsory neurosis, seem to be, at first sight, morally indifferent. There is nothing bad in picking up every scrap of paper, or of returning seven times to make sure that the door is really locked, or in touching three times every object before letting it go. But even these apparently harmless things have a bearing on morality. They cause an enormous loss of time; they often become a serious handicap in fulfilling one's duties; and, last not least, they upset the scale of values of things, since merely subjective things are credited with a quite undue importance. No human action is quite indifferent from the moral point of view, and this fact becomes very plain in such cases as these.

Another necessary distinction is the one between irresistibility caused by the mere strength of the impulse and the one arising from the alleged intolerability of the situation which is going to be changed by obeying the impulse. The first case is seen

in certain actions caused by passion: in a fit of violent anger it is the strength of the aggressive impulse which overpowers all the other faculties. The second case is evident in many sexual acts: the impulse is not the most important feature in the whole situation; it is the great tension, the craving for relief which is not to be resisted.

These irresistible impulses are observed, probably only in cases of violent passion. In nearly all the other cases we have to deal with overstrong attraction or with experiences which are felt to be intolerable. In these latter cases the phenomenon of irresistibility is much more complicated than appears at first sight. Most of the stories about cases of irresistibility tell of the fact that the person " could not resist any longer," that he " finally had to give in ". These words show that the impulse was not of a kind to rush the individual headlong, as it were, toward a certain goal. They imply furthermore that something like consent and decision took place. Resistance had to be abandoned before the impulse could become really irresistible. Yielding is after all an act of will, and so is, for that matter, not resisting at all. Only in those cases in which the impulse arises so suddenly and with such strength as not to allow for consciousness, for some deliberation, however brief, or for the attempt to, at least, delay action, there is really no act of will at all. It seems that these cases are limited to acts caused by an overwhelming passion, anger, fury, despair, or fear. In all other cases there is, as it seems, left at least some little bit of freedom.

This fact makes the decision on responsibility very difficult, all the more since there are no reliable objective criteria of irresistibility. We know only what the individual himself sees fit to tell us. Even if we feel sure of his sincerity, we never can know whether he remembers correctly the whole fact. His memory may be unreliable. This is not improbable, for details of troubling experiences are apt to become forgotten, and because the mind, involuntarily, fills in the gaps of memory. There is moreover the tendency of finding plausible excuses for actions at which we feel ashamed, and this tendency may be at work even without our noticing it.

There is no impulse which may be considered simply as irresistible. We know no qualities whose presence would make it sure that a given impulse had been irresistible or, for that matter,

that it had been not of such a kind. It is sometimes asserted that actions which need a longer preparation or a series of preliminary steps cannot be due to the influence of an irresistible impulse; we have already mentioned facts which disprove this idea. The fact of sudden and violent action may become a strong argument in favor of irresistibility having existed; but the absence of this feature is no convincing proof to the contrary.

It all depends therefore on the reliability of the subject himself. A judgment on such facts is possible only if we sufficiently understand the total personality. The confessor may start with the presumption of credibility and sincerity, as a man going to confession will probably want to be sincere. It is surely permissible to apply the principle *in dubiis mitius*. The problem becomes much more difficult when the confessor has to attempt to reform his penitent and if the latter seriously desires to get rid of actions for which he feels not responsible, but which he knows nevertheless are wrong.

The first thing to do is probably to warn the penitent that irresistibility, even it can be proved in some cases, is not to be assumed for all of them, regardless of the circumstances. We cannot let the penitent believe that he has got an excuse which will hold good once and for all.

There are several ways of dealing with these irresistible impulses. One may advise a person who complains of such troubles to avoid as far as possible the situations which favor their arising. As a rule this isn't easy and it cannot be done at all in many cases. Sometimes a man may foresee that he will become the victim of an impulse if he lets things develop; he may know, for instance, that a dispute will make him angry and that, within a short time, he will not be able to control his temper; he may learn to quit the argument, even at the cost of appearing beaten or a coward. Unhappily, most people do not know when to run away; it is the same thing with sexual temptations too.

There is one very curious and very important feature worthy of mention in those irresistible impulses. They become irresistible, so to say, before they have fully developed. People have a presentiment of the impulse arising; they know that within a short time they will become entangled in a situation

from which there is no escape, much as they may desire one. They know that they are still capable, this very moment, of turning away and that by doing so they will avoid the danger—but they do not. There is a peculiar fascination, a lurid attraction in this kind of danger, and there is evidently some anticipation of the satisfaction that the *partes inferiores animae* will derive from indulging in the " irresistible " action. This action itself may, therefore, not carry any responsibility and nevertheless not be excusable, because in fact the person has assented to its development.

But a man may become, little by little, master of these impulses if he cares to think of them and to prepare for them in times when they are not present. Here too, as in many other cases, the word of St. Ignatius Loyola applies, that it is the *tempus quietum* during which we make progresses.

An irresistible impulse is not always the effect of some peculiarity of constitution or temperament; it may be conditioned by some mental attitudes which are unknown to or not understood by the person himself. Some modern schools of psychology speak of the working of the " unconscious." It is well to avoid this term, because of its vagueness, unless its meaning is exactly defined. To do this would, however, necessitate a wide analysis. The so-called unconscious motives, tendencies, forces, etc. are really—at least with many people—not so unconscious after all; it needs often only a little explanation to make them see what is the matter with them. Many of the irresistible impulses rest not on factors of constitution but on acquired habits—understanding the term in the sense of scholastic psychology—of which the individual is not aware and whose true nature he does not realize. The discovery of hidden motives or habits is, however, the task of the psychologist or even the psychiatrist rather than the spiritual director.

The confessor needs, as it seems, to be careful not to encourage the penitent to continue with his habit by telling him that he is acting under the influence of an irresistible impulse. The penitent interprets this statement easily as a kind of permission to act as he is doing and not to care, because he is not responsible and does not commit a *peccatum formale*. Tiresome though it may be, one will have to inquire over and over again into the peculiar circumstances and to find out each time anew whether

there has been an irresistible impulse or not. Only if one knows the personality of the penitent very well and has good reasons for trusting him, and after it has been ascertained that the immoral actions were indeed due always to such an impulse, one may dispense the penitent from reporting every instance.

Many cases of this kind have to be classed simply among those of compulsory neurosis. These cases have to be treated. Ordinarily, it is not for the priest to deal with them. He will have to tell them that they are just abnormal personalities, that there are ways to help them and that they are, if it can be done, morally obliged to seek the advice of a trustworthy psychiatrist.

There is a danger in believing that one is the victim of an irresistible impulse. Even if the actions due to it are not sinful, because done without the person really willing them, there is always the danger of these persons enlarging—unwillingly, apparently, but nevertheless not without a certain responsibility—the field of action of these impulses. They will describe the fact by saying that things have become worse with them, implying that their abnormal state has gained in intensity or in extension. It is, however, improbable that an impulse which for a long time has been limited to a definite kind of behavior, should spread into fields often very different. In such cases there is need of great caution.

It is, on the other hand, necessary to encourage many of these people. Quite a few suffer intensely from the idea that they are committing sins over and over again. Although they may feel that they are not fully responsible, they nevertheless feel too that these actions are not forced on them by powers altogether outside their own personality. They may despair of their eternal fate, of their ever being able to lead a moral life, and thus be induced to give up trying to live religiously. Even if they do not go so far, they may give up all striving for perfection and thus gradually sink to lower and lower levels of morality. They have to be told, however, not only that, so long as these impulses are really irresistible, there is no grave sin; they have to be told also that even irresistible impulses may be dealt with somehow. It is necessary to find a middle way between letting these people believe that they have a privilege to ignore certain commandments and discouraging them by open disbelief or harshness.

The most important thing is that every case is to be considered as an altogether new problem, and that one must strictly avoid all generalization, most of all of a rashly formed opinion. We cannot know anything of the true nature of the allegedly irresistible impulse unless we know all we can find out about the total personality. Neither the psychiatrist nor the confessor has to deal with the isolated phenomenon of an impulse: both deal with a human person whom the impulse seizes.

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"LIQUIDUM NON FRANGIT JEJUNIUM".

THIS famous axiom like some others is false as it stands without limitation. It is not used by St. Thomas. In fact Billuart[1] calls it alien to the mind of St. Thomas. No theologian uses this axiom without limiting it in some way. Some of the modern theologians have adopted as their principle, "Potus non frangit jejunium," which is true and not so misleading as the general statement, "Liquidum non frangit jejunium."[2] The term *liquid* can include some very nourishing foods, like eggnogs. Thus, whilst it is true that every drink is a liquid, the converse is not true, that every liquid is a drink in the sense of being only a beverage.

It seems that in the early days of the Church the faithful abstained from wine during times of fasting, and took only a little water at certain hours to slake their thirst.[3] At what period the discipline changed is not definitely known, but it certainly was before the thirteenth century, because St. Thomas states outright that the Church does not intend to command abstinence from drink as part of her Lenten observance.[4] Since this permission of drinks is still allowed by the Church, it is of some importance to consider what is meant by *potus*.

St. Thomas in the same article goes on and describes *potus* as that which is taken more for the bodily changes and the digestion of food than for nutrition, although it may in some manner be nutritious. It is interesting to note that St. Thomas is in agreement with modern science in the fact that alcoholic drinks have some food value.[5]

It seems then that we cannot set up the norm that a drink is something to relieve thirst and without food value, because most of the drinks which are permitted by custom and theologians do have a food value. In fact, of the common beverages only tea and coffee have no food value, being useful only as stimulants and carriers of water.[6] But as ordinarily taken, even

[1] *Summa Sancti Thomae*, Tractatus de Temperantia, Dissert. II, Art. V, Num. V.

[2] Cf. Aertnys-Damen, *Theologia Moralis* (12th ed., 1932), vol. I, p. 629.

[3] Tanquerey, *Theologia Moralis* (8th ed., 1927), Tom. II, p. 728.

[4] *Summa Theologica*, II-II. Quaest. 147, Art. 6, ad secund.

[5] C. P. Hickman, *Physiological Hygiene* (New York, 1937), pp. 411-414; E. Davison, *Beer in the American Home* (New York), p. 14.

[6] A. F. Pattee, *Practical Dietetics* (18th ed., Mount Vernon, N. Y., 1931), p. 323.

tea and coffee have some food value due to the milk and sugar used in them.

What is the norm then that distinguishes between liquid food which is not permitted, and drinks having more or less food value which are permitted? St. Thomas gives us one norm. A drink is that which is taken principally for refreshment and digestion, and not for nutrition.[7] Ferraris [8] says we are allowed to take anything that is purely a drink ("quemlibet purum potum"). Billuart allows that which is principally ordained for refreshment and digestion, and warns us that these things are to be judged morally. Lacroix [9] says a drink should not nourish the solid parts of the body. Lacroix's principle seems to be unworkable in practice. Marc [10] takes as his norm that which by common opinion is taken only as a drink to quench thirst, or as a medicine. Konings [11] says that is a drink which from the common estimation of the faithful is considered as such. Tanquerey [12] says that which is ordinarily taken to quench thirst or to help digestion is a drink. Noldin [13] holds it is that which from common use is taken to slake thirst, or as a vehicle for food to help digestion. Elbel-Bierbaum [14] says that is a drink which from its nature, institution, and the common judgment of prudent men, especially physicians, has not as its purpose the nourishment of the solid parts of the body, but rather quenches thirst and aids in the assimilation of food.

From these representative norms we may derive a standard of judgment. The first point is that a drink is that which is principally taken to allay thirst, or to aid in digestion, or for a medicinal purpose, and not for its food value. How is this norm to be applied? According to the ordinary and common practice of faithful and prudent men. Elbel-Bierbaum is the only one of the theologians consulted who appeals to the expert opinion of physicians. Hence it does not seem that we have to consult expert opinion in this matter, but only the moral judgment of prudent people.

[7] *Ibid.*, ad tertiam.

[8] *Bibliotheca Prompta*, v. Jejunium, n. 39.

[9] *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. III, Pars II, Tract. V, Cap. III, Quaest. 250.

[10] *Institutiones Morales Alphonsianae* (15th ed., 1917), Tom. I, n. 1227.

[11] *Theologia Moralis* (7th ed., 1892), vol. I, p. 246.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 733.

[13] *Summa Theologiae Moralis* (11th ed., 1914), vol. II, n. 686.

[14] *Theologia Moralis* (2nd ed., 1894), vol. I, Pars III, n. 441.

In practice, how do theologians apply this norm? In general they consider the following as foods and not permissible—milk, honey, soup, oil, fruit, and fruit juices. Ordinarily they consider the following as drinks and hence permissible—wine, beer, distilled alcoholic drinks, coffee, tea, lemonade, orangeade, and similar preparations.

Let us consider some of these particular applications. It is unanimously considered by theologians that milk is a food, and not a drink. But then there is buttermilk and whey (the watery residue of milk after making cheese). Marc in agreeing with Muller seems to think that whey is allowed either as a drink or a medicine. Tanquerey [15] and Noldin allow milk from which cream has been extracted in those places where it is considered a mere drink. A writer in THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW [16] says that milk can not be considered a beverage in the United States. He goes on to state the fact that some theologians allow these denatured milks in some places, but he does not say whether or not he thinks these species of milk may be used in the United States. However, *salvo meliori*, it would seem that these drinks are taken in the United States primarily for quenching thirst or for their medicinal purposes, rather than for nutrition, and are considered so in common and ordinary usage, and on this score may be permitted in times of fasting.

Another application that may surprise some is the common prohibition of fruit and fruit juices. If one simply ate fruit, the case is easy; it is eating and that is just what is forbidden by the law. But, if one were to suck the juice out of the fruit or to drink the fruit juices, there is a real question of whether this fruit juice is a liquid food or a drink. This question is a most practical one in the United States where within recent years there has risen the custom of having fruit juices of almost infinite variety, pineapple, orange, grapefruit, tomato, etc., at breakfast. Due to the fact that these are now canned and sold in chain stores they have widespread distribution. In considering the question of fruit juices we must remember that the common opinion of theologians allows the use of diluted fruit juices in orangeade, lemonade, and similar preparations, provided that the water used is present in large proportion and that there is not too much substance of food value, sugar, etc., present. The majority opinion of theologians, which prohibits fruit

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 733, nota.

[16] Vol. XCII, n. 4 (April, 1935), p. 418.

juices, follows, a worthy leader in St. Alphonsus.[17] His reason is that they are for nutrition. He forbids grapejuice and then in the very next section says that wine is allowed. It is hard to understand his inference, unless he considered that fermentation destroys the food value. It does not seem that fermentation destroys enough of the food value as to change the nature of the liquid from a food to a drink.

There are not many theologians who allow fruit juices. The weight of opinion is on the other side. Among those that do allow these juices are Lacriox[18] and Genicot-Salsmans.[19] Lacroix quotes two theologians who say that to slake thirst it is allowed to eat (*sic*) a ripe grape or fruit juice. In Genicot's discussion of the case of a girl eating an orange, he says that she would lightly violate the law of fasting ("propter parvitatem materia"); but if she just drank the juice there would be no violation. This is rather a slender reed of authority to go by; so let us consider the case from reason. Are fruit juices primarily taken for their thirst-quenching properties and as a vehicle for food? It does not seem so. Are they principally consumed for their food value? Again it does not seem so. It would seem that they are taken to aid digestion, to supply vitamins, and to counteract acidity. In other words, their use is more medicinal than nutritive, and hence on this ground they would seem to be allowed. The common opinion allows anything "per modum medicinae". In our climate, where Lent always falls in the months of the year when the vitamin reserves of the body are usually low, it seems reasonable to permit the moderate use of such beverages.

Among the beverages which the common opinion permits are wine and beer. Of course those alcoholic drinks, which are not taken to quench thirst, such as liqueurs, can be justified only as aids to digestion or medicine. The thelogians recognized that alcohol on an empty stomach is dangerous, a fact that modern science explains by saying that alcohol is then more rapidly absorbed into the blood stream. Hence the theologians allow a little food to be taken to prevent this result. They allow this food "ratione medicinae".[20] Thus it would seem that this bit of food is restricted to use with alcoholic drinks.

[17] *Homo Apostolicus*, Tract. XIII, Cap. I, P. I, nn. 12 and 13.

[18] *Ibid.*, quaest. 251.

[19] *Casus Conscientiae* (6th ed., 1928), Casus 221.

[20] Ferraris, *op. cit.*, n. 38; Billuart, *op. cit.*

What kind of food is allowed? It seems that any kind is. Some authors speak of bread, others of food alone, and some of almonds.[21] How much food may be taken " ne potus noceat "? All agree that but a small amount may be taken. Those who try to determine what this small amount is, say an ounce or half an ounce. Lacroix says only half an ounce, because that suffices to do away with the danger. How often is this little bit of food allowed? As often as one drinks? Some do not limit it; [22] others say it is allowed *toties quoties*, provided one does not drink frequently; [23] but the common opinion allows it only once or twice a day. It would seem that since this small bit of food is permitted " ratione medicinae " it would be allowed as often as one is permitted to drink.

The theologians who restrict the use of this bit of food to once or twice a day do so because they foresee what would be the result of an unscrupulous view of this permission. Someone might drink wine with a little bread all day long, and thus pass through Lent quite comfortably. Does such a person sin against the law of fasting? Billuart,[24] interpreting St. Thomas, says that one who immoderately drinks is guilty of sin (mortally or venially) against the virtue of temperance, and loses the merit of his fasting. He also points out that such conduct, if public, scandalizes others and so sins against charity. But this conduct does not offend against the law of fasting, which only forbids the eating of food. Only in the case of one who, " in fraudem legis," uses these drinks as one uses other foods, to satisfy hunger and procure nutrition, would the law of fasting be broken. Hence in this case there would be a sin directly against the law of fasting.

In teaching and applying this principle of " potus non frangit jejunium," it behooves us to give a reasonable interpretation of it that we may encourage others to fast. At the same time we should insist on the natural law of temperance, and the divine law of penance, so that others may not lose the merit of their fasting by abusing this principle.[25]

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[21] Ballerini-Palmieri, *Opus Theologicum Morale* (ed. 1890), vol. II, Tract. VII, Sect. I, § III.

[22] Ferraris, *op. cit.*

[23] Ballerini-Palmieri, *op. cit.*, n. 38.

[24] *Op. cit.*

[25] Vermeersch, *Theologia Moralis* (2nd ed., 1927), Tom. III, n. 888.

"INNER SPEECH" AND THE OFFICE.

THE article, "Vocal Recitation and Inner Speech," by Father A. A. Stephenson, S.J., in the September issue of the REVIEW is a valuable contribution toward making clear the amount of articulatory movement required in the recitation of the Divine Office. Writing with deference to the judgment of theologians and ecclesiastical authority, Father Stephenson points out the gap between the common or, at least, widespread interpretation of the *vocal recitation* of the Office on the one hand and the wording of the precept and the nature of the Office as liturgical prayer on the other. After establishing these points by careful analysis and corroborative evidence, he reaches the conclusion: "If there are reasons of convenience ('convenientiae') which require that the 'opus Dei' shall be not only definable but external, then inner speech achieves externality in the only important sense. . . . It may be suggested that the acceptance of this theory would make it possible to recite the Office with less effort and strain and with more attention."

The conclusion will prove of widespread interest to priests; for it is probable that there are few, if any, charged with the *opus Dei* who have not found themselves wondering at times whether they were so vocal as to annoy their neighbors with a sibilant hissing, and at other times whether they were moving the musculature of articulation sufficiently to satisfy the rubrics in regard to the manner of its recitation. Precisely what is meant by *vocal recitation* has long been a matter of varied interpretation—at least in practice. Notice the wide divergence in any row of clergymen saying their Office privately—from the priest wagging his chin and pouring out an intermittent stream of sibilance to the distraction of his neighbors, to the silent but generous lip-mover, down to the one making but slight and subdued movements of the articulatory musculature. Father Stephenson's conclusion is calculated, it would seem, to remove a prolific source of anxiety and scruples, and to make for the dignified and devout recitation of the breviary by focusing attention upon the thought and the meaning instead of upon the amount of movement of the lips, tongue, vocal cords, larynx and the other speech organs.

That conclusion gains in strength in proportion to the insight one secures into the findings of modern psychological research laying bare the unsuspected enormous amount of movement of the physiological mechanism of speech which occurs in so-called silent reading. It is the purpose of this article to supplement Father Stephenson's necessarily brief description of inner speech by presenting a picture of the latter as seen by the scientific researcher in this field. It is thought that such a presentation will show the reader that in the private recitation of the breviary, even though inaudible and with no conscious striving for elaborate articulatory movements, there nevertheless occurs such extensive innervation of the musculature of speech as to satisfy the requirement of moral theologians that it be a " vocal " recitation. It is to be noted that this prescinds entirely from the point made by Father Stephenson, that their demand is much greater than that contained in the wording of the present Code of Canon Law. This simply prescribes that the Office be " recited . . . integre," [1] and does not even say that the recitation must be vocal.

Waiving that point entirely, the writer respectfully submits that the findings of psychological research into the nature of the reading process show conclusively that even in an inaudible recitation of the Office there occurs necessarily such an extensive movement of the musculature of articulation, embracing the tongue, lips, vocal cords, larynx, thorax, inner palate and throat as to constitute vocal recitation in any definable sense short of oral communication to others. It coincides with the second point in the dual conclusion reached by Father Stephenson, namely, that " inner speech achieves externality in the only important sense ".

More than twenty years ago the writer had occasion to devote a large part of seven years to the intensive study of the psychological and physiological elements of the reading process. He had the facilities of the psychological laboratories of the Catholic University of America, the University of Illinois and the University of Chicago for his research. Out of that investigation [2] he secured a new insight into the phenomenon of inner

[1] Cann. 135; 610 § 3; 1475.

[2] *Silent Reading With Special Reference to Methods for Developing Speed*, by the Rev. John A. O'Brien, Ph.D., published by the Macmillan Company, New York, 1921; *Reading: Its Psychology and Pedagogy*, by the Rev. John A. O'Brien, Ph.D., published by the Century Company, New York, 1926.

speech. He then expressed the opinion that the amount of inner speech which occurs in reading would seem to satisfy the requirement of moral theologians for the "vocal" recitation of the Office. Hence Father Stephenson's article revives an old conviction and prompts the writer to enlarge the picture of this interesting but little-known phenomenon. The findings are not only interesting in themselves, but they have important implications for the interpretation of the term, *vocal recitation*, upon which the whole discussion hinges.

Physiological Basis of Reading.

Upon few phases of modern education have so many painstaking scientific investigations been focused as upon the physiological basis of reading. The researches of Javal, Erdmann and Dodge, Huey, Quantiz, Dearborn, and more recently of Judd, C. T. Gray, Schmidt, W. S. Gray, Buswell, and others, have thrown considerable light upon both the neurological and the psychological elements of the reading complex. In the light of these findings the old traditional and still popular conception of reading as an act of perception occurring as the eyes move steadily and uninterruptedly along the printed line, has been discarded. The investigations of modern psychologists have demonstrated that, instead of a regular passage of the eyes along the line, the movement consists of a series of pauses and jerks. The overwhelming weight of evidence indicates that it is only during the pauses that the eye really perceives, as the velocity with which it moves from fixation-pause to fixation-pause is so great as to cause a fusion of stimuli. *This means that so far as the purposes of clear perception are concerned, the eye is practically "blind" during the lightning-like sweeps from pause to pause.*

During these pauses, the eyes fixate a certain portion of the line. Hence they are called "fixation-pauses". The movements from one fixation-pause to another are termed "interfixation movements". The swing of the eyes from the end of one line to the beginning of the next is usually referred to as the "return sweep".[3] It is upon the fixation-pauses that

[3] If the lines in the breviary ran the full width of the page, as they do in virtually every book, instead of only half the width as they do in the breviary, the number of "return sweeps" would be cut in half, making the reading of the Office much easier and less an ordeal for the eyes. Let us hope publishers will do this.

psychologists have centered most of their investigations, for during these fixation-pauses the essence of the reading process seems to occur. According to the calculations of Erdmann and Dodge, and confirmed by the findings of the writer, these pauses consume from twelve-thirteenths to twenty-three twenty-fourths of the entire reading time. Investigations have been particularly concerned in discovering the number of fixation-pauses made per line, their duration, and the order of their occurrence. These facts have been ascertained with scientific precision, chiefly because of the evolution of a technique for the photographing of the eye-movements.

In 1879 Javal, at the University of Paris, by placing a mirror before the eyes of a person reading, was the first to discover that the passage of the eyes across a printed line was not a smooth, continuous movement, but was broken up into a series of pauses and jerks. It is difficult by that method to count the exact number of fixation-pauses, while the precise duration of each pause remained unknown. Later investigators, such as Arens at the University of Rostock in 1891 and later on Delabarre at Harvard, fastened a small cup to the cornea of the eye and then endeavored by means of a rod, attached to the cup, to have the eye-movements recorded on a smoked drum. The uncomfortable pressure of a cup upon the eye, considerably disturbing the natural reading attitude, impaired to some extent the value of the records thus secured.

After considerable experimentation in directly photographing the eyes, Dodge at last succeeded in photographing " the movement of a bright vertical line as it was reflected from the cornea," thus securing reliable records of eye-movements under approximately natural conditions. Dearborn, Judd, Freeman, C. T. Gray, Schmidt and Buswell have contributed various refinements to the method, until at the present time both the number of fixation-pauses and their duration can be determined with remarkable accuracy. The method devised to secure such measurements is a typical illustration of the remarkably ingenious technique which has been evolved in the effort to subject educational procedure to the same rigid, scientific mode of attack which obtains in the other sciences.

The eye-movements which will be shown in this article were photographed by the writer in the educational laboratory at the

University of Chicago. The method consists in photographing a beam of light reflected from silvered glass mirrors into the cornea of the eye, and then reflected back from the cornea to a moving kinetoscope film. Each movement of the eye is reflected by a corresponding change in the pencil of light which is photographed upon the film. The time consumed in the reading processes is measured by an electrically-driven tuning fork, with a vibration rate of 50 per second. It is so arranged that the pencil of light is intercepted at each vibration, thus producing on the film a line of 50 dots per second. By counting these dots, the duration of the fixation-pauses, the interfixation movements, and the return sweeps can be accurately determined.

Inner Speech.

This brings us to the question: What is reading? What are its psychological processes? In its broadest sense, reading may be said to be the interpretation of any visual or tactual symbols. In its stricter signification it is the perception and interpretation of written or printed language. The act of reading consists of two main psychophysical processes: (1) The ocular adjustments necessary to perceive the words as visual symbols, and (2) the arousal of the mental associations necessary to give meaning to the visual symbols. Both of the processes are in reality complex ones, and embrace many steps, so that the total reading act may be further analyzed into its constituent detailed processes.

The following detailed steps, according to Starch,[4] may be distinguished:

1. Reception upon the retina of the stimuli from the printed page.
2. The range of the field of distinct vision on the retina.
3. The range of attention in apprehending visual stimuli.
4. The movement of the eyes.
5. The transmission of the visual impressions from the retina to the visual centers of the brain.
6. The establishment or arousal of association processes whereby the incoming impulses are interpreted.
7. The transmission of the impulses from the visual centers to the motor speech centers.

[4] Daniel Starch, *Educational Psychology*, p. 260, the Macmillan Co., New York, 1921.

8. The transmission of motor impulses from the speech centers to the muscles of the vocal cords, tongue, lips and related parts.
9. Execution of the movements of the speech organs in speaking the words.

It is obvious that these steps are not entirely consecutive: some of them coalesce. Many of them are complex and might be further analyzed into their psychophysical components. They serve, however, to indicate the chief steps in the reading process, which is otherwise apt to be considered by the ordinary reader as a single unitary action.

In the case of silent reading, the actual production of sound would be lacking, though the movements enumerated in the last three steps would be present in abbreviated form. It is these articulatory movements which prompted Huey to define inner speech as a " combination of auditory and motor elements, with one or the other predominating according to the reader's habitual mode of imaging "—a definition which may be said to reflect fairly well the general view of students who have investigated this process. In other words, reading is not confined to the visualization of the printed symbols. Concomitant with this visualization there occur movements, more or less incipient in character, of the tongue, lips, vocal cords, larynx, inner palate, throat and the general physiological mechanism that functions in oral speech. The reader goes through the form of saying the words to himself. *The difference between the inner speech of silent reading and the oral speech of conversation is thus seen to be one, not of kind, but of degree—degree of movement of the vocal organs and degree of sound produced.*

While this habit of vocalization in silent reading and even in thinking seems to have been always with us, its existence does not seem to have been consciously adverted to and commented upon until the second half of the last century. Ribot [5] seems to have been one of the first to have called attention to this phenomenon. Writing in the *Revue Philosophique* in 1879, Ribot observes: " L'homme fait, qui lit silencieusement, accompagner chaque perception visuelle d'un mouvement secret

[5] Ribot, Th., *Les Mouvements et leur Importance Psychologique*, published in *Revue Philosophique*, 8: 371-86, October, 1879.

d'articulation." [6] This observation occurs as an *obiter dictum*, as Ribot was primarily interested in demonstrating the general importance of movement in connexion with psychical processes. The case of inner speech in reading is cited merely as a specific illustration of the general law of psycho-physics, by which every sensory stimulus terminates in a motor reaction. In the literature in English the first clear reference to the existence of this habit appears to be the statement of Bain [7] in 1868: "A suppressed articulation is, in fact, the material of our recollection, the intellectual manifestation, the idea of speech." In the statements of these psychologists one can see the foreshadowing of the present pragmatic theory of consciousness, in which the incipient motor tendencies of the type just mentioned are made to play stellar rôles in explaining the functioning of the various types of thought and ideation.

To Translate Writing into Speech.

The first systematic treatment accorded this process seems to have come from the pens of the French psychologists, Egger [8] and Ballet.[9] Relying on introspection, Egger notes the constant persistence of this inner speech in both his thinking and reading. Showing a profound insight into the psychophysical nature of the reading process, he thus defines it: "Lire, en effet, c'est traduire l'écriture en parole." It may well be questioned whether any more revealing definition of the essential nature of reading has ever been given than that contained in Egger's brief but pregnant utterance: "To read is, in reality, to translate writing into speech." There in one brilliant and revealing sentence is stated the whole case which Father Stephenson and the writer are seeking to make. Like a flash of lightning which at times lights up a whole landscape with its hills and valleys, this penetrating definition of Egger reveals a flash of insight into the vocal elements intrinsically inherent in all reading. He finds inner speech likewise present in thinking, and points out: "A tout instant, l'âme parle interieurement sa pensée." [10] Ballet

[6] "In silent reading, every visual perception is accompanied by a concealed articulatory movement."

[7] Bain, Alexander, *The Senses and the Intellect*, 1868, p. 336.

[8] Egger, Victor, *La Parole interieure*, Paris: G. Bailliere et Cie, 1881.

[9] Ballet, Gilbert, *Le Langage interieur et les diverses formes de l'aphasie*, Paris: F. Alcan, 1886.

[10] "In every instance, a person expresses his thought in inner speech."

calls attention to the additional factor of audition in reading, pointing out the intimate connexion between the articulation of words and the hearing of them. Whether or not audition always follows on the articulation of words, Ballet does not state.

On the basis of extensive study the German psychologist Stricker [11] reached the conclusion that it was impossible to have an idea of a word without experiencing the sensations of innervation arising from the stimulation of the articulatory muscles in inner speech. For example, it is impossible to have an idea of the sound of the letter B without feeling an incipient muscular movement in the lips. As he himself expressed it: "Die Vorstellung des Lautes B und des Gefühl in der Lippen sind also in meinem Bewusstsein unzertrennlich assoziert . . . Diese Gefühle sitzen in den Muskeln." [12] Indeed, not only are sensations of movements in the articulatory muscles inseparately connected with the letter or word, but the consciousness of these muscular movements really constitutes the idea of the word. Since Stricker supplemented the results of his own introspection by questioning a hundred other observers, and finding similar results, his conclusions assumed the nature of generalizations of a rather universal character. Is inner speech necessary in silent reading? Stricker answers unequivocally in the affirmative.

Thus far the psychologists had relied largely, if not entirely, upon introspection to detect the presence of articulatory movement. An effort was made by Curtis [13] to remove this matter from its complete dependence upon the subjective factor of the subject's own introspection and place it upon an objective basis. Accordingly, he placed a large tambour on the larynx of the subject. A record of the movements made while the subject was thinking or reading silently was compared with the movements made when the subject was relaxed, thinking of nothing in particular. The curves of the former were much larger than those of the latter. Following this same mode of attack, Courten [14] at the University of Yale employed a Rousselot

[11] Stricker, S., *Studien über die Sprachvorstellungen*, Vienna: Ebendas, 1880, 106 pp.

[12] "The mental image of the sound B and the (corresponding) sensation in the lips are inseparably associated in my consciousness. . . . These sensations arise from the muscles."

[13] Curtis, H. S., "Automatic Movement of the Larynx," *American Journal of Psychology*, 11: 237-39, January, 1900.

[14] Courten, H. C., "Involuntary Movements of the Tongue," *Studies from the Yale Psychological Laboratory*, v. 10, pp. 93-95, 1902.

exploratory bulb which rested upon the tongue and which was connected with a Marey tambour. Since the tongue is one of the important organs called into play by articulation, a record of the movement or non-movement of the tongue would throw some light on the question: Does a suppressed vestigial articulation always accompany silent reading? Courten found that the curve of movement varied both with the individual and with the degree of concentration in thinking and in reading. In every case, however, movement of some sort was clearly recorded.

From the foregoing objective findings two inferences would seem to follow.

1. Too much weight should not be placed upon the report of a subject whose introspection is unable to detect a slight movement of the articulatory muscles.
2. The absence of articulatory movement in some degree or other does not seem to be conclusively demonstrated in any individual case.

While the articulatory movements that occur in thinking and in silent reading are usually of a faint vestigial character, there are occasions when the articulation becomes very pronounced. Hansen and Lehmann [15] have shown that when the subject is thinking very intently of some name or number an unconscious whispering usually occurs. Though accompanied by no perceptible movement of the lips, the sound can nevertheless be distinctly heard by observers when the subject is placed in especially favorable acoustic conditions. These experimental findings of Hansen and Lehmann offer corroborative experimental evidence to the observation made by Egger, in 1881, that there are certain mental states during which the inner speech is especially vigorous despite one's best efforts to check it — occasions when it is impossible to " faire taire notre pensée ".

It may be mentioned here that, when care was taken to observe the readers whose eye-movements were being photographed by the writer, evidences of inner speech were detected in every instance. After reviewing the literature on this subject rather exhaustively, Pintner concludes: " The general result from all these experiments can be summed up by saying that silent read-

[15] Hansen, F. C. C., and Lehmann, A., " Ueber unwilkürliches Flüstern," *Wundt's Philosopische Studien*, 11: 471-530, 1895.

ing is accompanied by articulation in some degree or other. This activity of articulation is, so far as we know, a universal habit."

Comparison of Silent and Oral Reading.

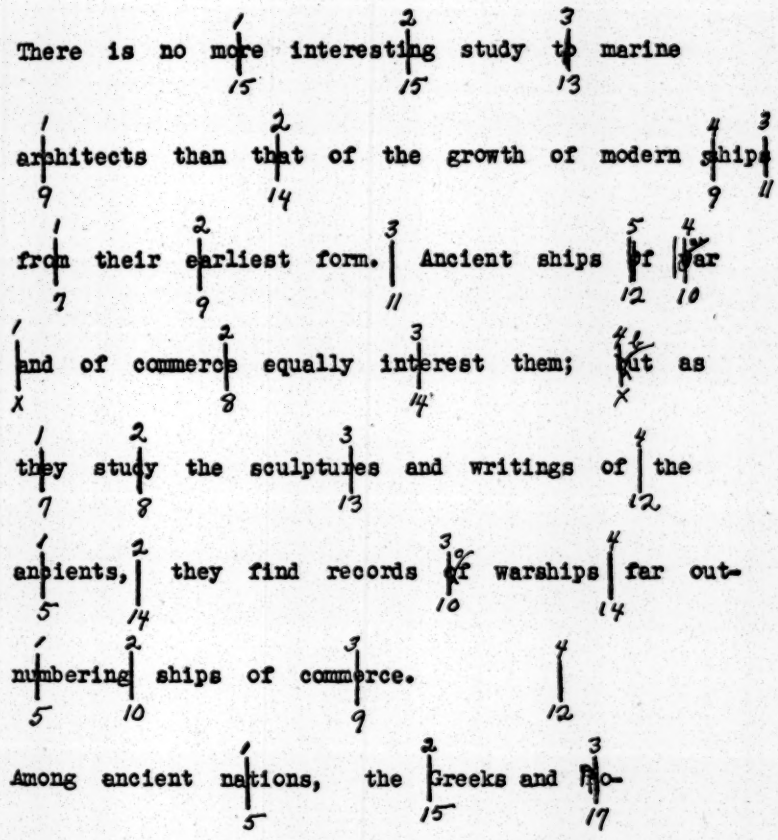
Let us look now at the difference in the types of eye-movements, the number and duration of fixation-pauses in silent and in oral reading. Through the courtesy of his publishers, the writer is privileged to present in Figure I the photographic record of the eye-movements of an adult subject in reading Gray's *Silent Reading Test.* Immediately after the subject had read the selection silently he was requested to read it orally. Because of the great advantage of familiarity with the passage as a result of just having read it, one might expect that the eye-movements would be of a superior type, with fewer fixations and fewer regressive movements. The record of these eye-movements in the oral reading is shown in Figure II. A comparison of it with Figure I shows that the number of fixations and of regressive movements instead of decreasing have actually increased, while even the duration of the fixation-pauses has been prolonged.

Thus the first line was grasped in three fixations with no regressive movements by the silent reading method, while the rereading of this same line necessitated six fixations involving two regressive movements in the oral reading. The average number of fixations per line for the entire passage of thirteen lines rises from 4.3 in silent reading to 6.1 in oral reading, showing a marked narrowing of the perceptual span in oral reading. The average duration of the fixation-pauses jumps from 11.3 in silent reading to 14.6 in oral reading, showing that the perceptual process is forced to wait upon the slower process of complete vocalization.

Regressive movements reveal the failure to grasp the thought content, causing a mental confusion which can be cleared up only by sending the eyes back again to pick up elements not assimilated in the former progressive movements along the line. They are thus the reliable indices of defective comprehension of the matter read. That the facility in grasping the meaning content was not so great by the oral reading method is shown by the mounting of the number of regressive movements for the whole passage from five in the silent reading to nine in the

FIGURE I

SILENT READING BY AN ADULT SUBJECT

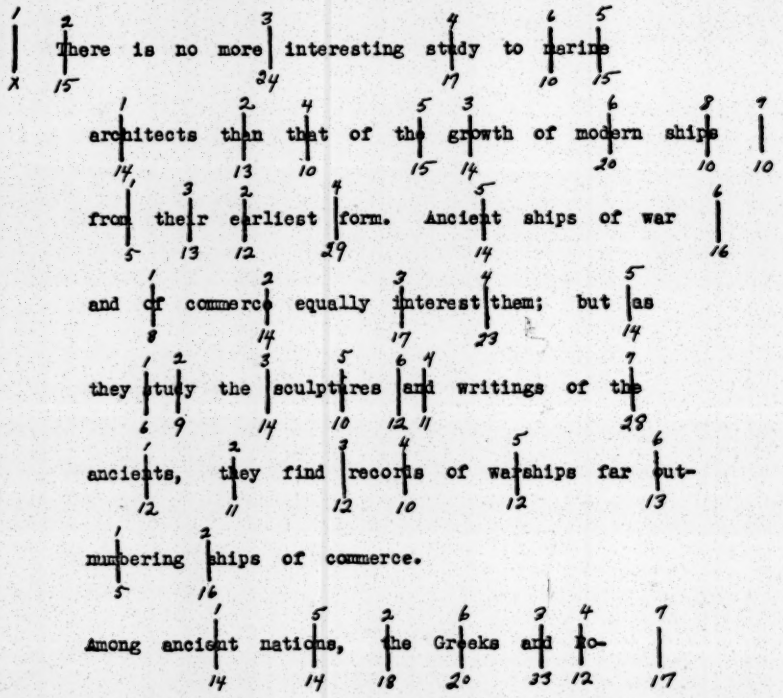

There is no more interesting study to marine
architects than that of the growth of modern ships
from their earliest form. Ancient ships of war
and of commerce equally interest them; but as
they study the sculptures and writings of the
ancients, they find records of warships far out-
numbering ships of commerce.
Among ancient nations, the Greeks and Ro-

This photograph of the movements of the eyes during silent reading shows that the eyes first paused on the word, *more,* for 15/50 of a second; made the second pause on the last syllable of *interesting* for 15/50 of a second, and the third and last pause on *to* for 13/50 of a second. The rest of the photograph is to be read in the same way.

oral reading. The uniformity of the ocular motor reaction habits is disturbed by the attempt to synchronize the perceptual process with the slower and more unwieldy process of articulation with the latter's dependence upon an elaborate physiological mechanism.

FIGURE II

ORAL READING BY AN ADULT SUBJECT


There is no more interesting study to marine
architects than that of the growth of modern ships
from their earliest form. Ancient ships of war
and of commerce equally interest them; but as
they study the sculptures and writings of the
ancients, they find records of warships far out-
numbering ships of commerce.
Among ancient nations, the Greeks and Ro-

This photograph of the eye movements during oral reading shows the first pause of the eyes occurred before the first word *There*, for a brief space that could not be accurately determined. The second pause occurred on the word *There* for 15/50 of a second. The rest is to be read in the same manner. Note the much greater number of eye pauses and their greater average duration in oral than in silent reading.

The advantage of the subject's greater familiarity with the passage is shown by the photographic records to be more than offset by the more cumbrous and awkward ocular motor reactions which oral reading necessitates. The result of splitting the attention in oral reading, part upon the effort to pronounce the words correctly and to modulate the voice appropriately, and part upon the effort to interpret the meaning rather than the sound of the printed symbols, is reflected in the changed character of the eye-movement habits as illustrated in Figures I

and II. These figures are fairly typical of the differences in the eye-movement habits in oral and silent reading, which numerous investigations and many photographic records have shown to exist. They demonstrate the unmistakable superiority of silent over oral habits, namely, the wider perceptual span as shown in the smaller number of fixations, the shorter duration of fixation-pauses, the decrease in the number of regressive movements and the greater regularity and more rhythmical swing of the eye-movements. These constitute the physiological basis, on the ocular motor reaction side, of the marked superiority of silent over oral reading, both in point of nervous energy expended, eye-fatigue and comprehension of the matter read.

The bearing of this comparison of the results of silent and oral reading upon the private recitation of the Office is simply this: The more the attention can be focused upon the thought content, instead of being split upon the conscious striving to move the musculature of articulation, the more intelligent, effective and, therefore, devout becomes the reading of this great liturgical prayer. In general as the attention is shifted from the mechanics of reading to the thought content, devotion increases *pari passu*. For prayer is not, as certain pagan tribes are said to believe, a matter of keeping printed prayers moving on windmills, but the lifting of the heart and mind to God.

May we submit then with all deference the following conclusions:

1. On the ground of external authority alone, the view that inner speech is a sufficient movement of the musculature of articulation as to make the private reading of the Office a *vocal recitation* has at the very least solid probability. Such a widely-used and highly-approved textbook as McHugh and Callan specifically states that by vocal recitation is meant that "the words must be consciously formed by the lips, mouth *or* tongue."[16] That it would also seem to satisfy the requirements of Sabetti-Barrett and of Lehmkuhl, as Father Stephenson points out in a postscript to his article, would appear from the following quotations. In answer to the question as to whether the Office should be heard in order that its recitation may be said to be vocal, Sabetti-Barrett reply: "Neg., quia oratio vocalis dicitur per oppositionem ad mentalem, et vere habetur quoties

[16] Author's italics.

verba vere pronuntiantur, utut a nemine audiantur; ac proinde sufficit, si recitans conscius sibi sit se verba pronuntiare." [17] Lehmkuhl writes: "Vocalis pronuntiatio haberi potest, etsi recitans se non audit: sufficit enim voces et syllabas suis organis efformasse. Ita S. Alph. IV 163; idque docet in distinctione a pronuntiatione in celebranda Missa, et maxime in consecratione, sicut in omnium sacramentorum formis requisita. Nam ubi de valore sacramenti quaeritur, non sufficit probabilia eligere; sed probabile tantum est, eam prolationem sufficere, quae ne a loquente quidem exterius audiatur. At quia probabile est, sufficit, sic recitasse breviarium." [18]

2. On the grounds of internal authority, the view that inner speech throws into activity a sufficient area of the physiological mechanism of articulation as to label the private reading of the Office a vocal recitation, which can be heard neither by the reader nor by any one else, would seem to be abundantly established by the findings of psychological research. For what is inner speech but a movement of the articulatory organs so restrained as to issue in no sound, inaudible either to the reader or to any other persons nearby? Even in such instances delicate scientific instruments would detect it. This implies, however, that the reader does not consciously inhibit all inner speech—a feat rarely, if ever, achieved.

3. The edge of novelty is taken from this interpretation when it is pointed out that inner speech appears to achieve that externality desired by theologians to keep the Office from being a merely mental or meditative prayer and to issue in some restrained and abbreviated articulatory movement, even though no sound is produced. Is it not possible then that inner speech is but another name for what theologians have had in mind as the inarticulate movement of the organs of articulation? Modern science often gives new names to old phenomena as well as to old ailments. Theologians of recognized standing, to whom the writer submitted this conclusion, have concurred therein.

4. This interpretation is calculated to remove sources of anxiety and scruples, and to make for a more intelligent, reverent and devout recitation of the Office, by focusing attention

[17] No. 580. Quaer. I.

[18] Vol. II, 796. No. 1. *editio undecima.*

upon the thought content instead of diverting it to the movements of the various organs in the mechanism of articulation. That such a shift is desirable, probably every one will admit. For in any honest and realistic discussion of the breviary, it must be acknowledged that there are not wanting passages whose meaning is not readily discernible at even a leisurely rate of reading.

5. This interpretation does not make for laxity or carelessness, or the mere skimming of the Office, but entails the reading of every word with such movements of the articulatory organs as occur naturally in inner speech, without consciously striving to direct such detailed and abbreviated movements by focusing the attention upon them. It calls for a recitation in the deepest sense of that word, namely, of doing *full verbal justice* to the text. It will eliminate, however, the necessity of that enormous chin-wagging, that brandishing of the lips and jaws, that pouring forth of a stream of hissing sibilance which have made their owners sources of visual and auditory distractions to all around them. It will enable clergymen to accept with pleasure the gracious invitation of the Council of Tréves to recite their Hours "quando sunt in itinere," and also it might be added, "quando sunt in publico," without being a spectacle horrendous for angels and for men.

JOHN A. O'BRIEN.

Champaign, Illinois.

Studies and Conferences

Questions, the discussion of which is for the information of the general reader of the Department of Studies and Conferences, are answered in the order in which they reach us. The Editor cannot engage to reply to inquiries by private letter.

OUR PRIESTS AND THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.

The following letter is being sent, as a personal communication from the Rector of The Catholic University of America, to every priest in the United States.

Comments received during its preparation from bishops and priests have been most heartening and encouraging, and already some generous contributions have been sent. The beginnings augur well for the success of this unusual appeal.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Reverend and dear Father:

This is a letter from a fellow priest who, having himself spent fifteen years in parish work, knows very well your many calls and limited means, and very reluctantly comes to you pleading for your personal help. Those with more right than I to decide, however, insist that the priests of the country should and must be offered a share in the program which not only the Bishops have made their own, but which our Holy Father himself has deigned to urge as his own earnest desire. It was his own suggestion that I ask you in his name.

The future of the Catholic University of America is jeopardized by the burden of debt which it carries. This debt amounts to a little over a million and a half dollars. In asking for a money contribution, in any measure in which you find yourself able to help, I feel that no matter how slight the offering possible to you may seem, you will understand that it will be welcome to me in this driving necessity of lifting this burden from the University.

Among those who read this will be the sterling priests who are living lives of apostolic privation in the sparsely settled and difficult places in these United States. If you are such a one and unable to spare me even the stipend of a Mass, the sympathetic prayer of your priestly good-will will be the gratefully accepted answer to this letter.

From any priest I ask only what he judges himself able to give. I hope and pray that you will find such a gift a matter of great spiritual profit to yourself. Should it happen, Father, that you are able and glad to do something more than the average for the University, you will find on the list of memorial gifts, which is enclosed, some object which may attract you as an appropriate personal memorial here.

I am very eager to have the proofs of the priests' generosity constantly in the consciousness of those who will come after this generation at the University. For this reason, every such memorial gift will bear a tablet commemorating the donor. Every priest contributor will be entered in a Memorial Priests' Volume to be treasured permanently as a Jubilee record at the University.

You will find in the printed matter, being sent to you separately, other suggestions of ways in which it may be possible for you to help the University.

As this donation from the priests is to be considered a special fund, I am asking you to communicate directly with me, using the enclosed envelope and subscription blank.

In daring to make such a personal appeal as from one priest to another for help in a difficult task, I am trusting to the bond of our common priesthood which is, after all, the nucleus of Catholic achievement in any age, and in every country throughout the world.

Father, the case is in your hands. Will you help me?

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH CORRIGAN
Rector.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE LEAKAGE.

The Church's more immediate concern is naturally to keep the membership she has. On the night before His death our Divine Saviour could not console Himself with the thought that His preaching had won many converts, but He did point with evident satisfaction to the fact that His disciples had remained faithful. Addressing His Heavenly Father, He said: "Those whom thou gavest me I have kept; and none of them is lost." Likewise the first concern of His ministers, the Catholic clergy, must always be to keep the souls whom God has entrusted to them, industriously striving that none be lost.

This problem of leakage from the Church is most urgent today. The fact that leakage is going on is only too painfully evident to every priest, and nothing brings greater sadness and foreboding to his pastoral heart. The extent of the leakage is not easily determined in numbers. For when is a Catholic definitely lapsed? The answer would seem to be that a Catholic is definitely lasped when he is not practising his religion, not going to Mass on Sundays, not receiving the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist regularly, or at least once a year. But every missioner has had first-hand knowledge of hundreds of cases of Catholics who had grossly neglected the practice of their religion for years, and then at the time of a mission renounce their careless ways and return to the fervent practice of their Faith.

There would be something unsound, therefore, about any census that would have stricken such persons from the roster of the Church during the period of their negligence. But surely Catholics are definitely lapsed when they have married outside the Church and are not able or eligible to have the matter rectified and thus return to the Sacraments. Here again, however, the missioner has many such whose faith is still unimpaired and who sincerely repine at their enforced absence from the Sacraments. Not all such persons as these, therefore, can be unqualifiedly set down as lapsed. No matter how far a Catholic may have strayed from his duties, if he has not completely lost the Faith he is a potential recovery, and in thousands of cases this potency becomes act, as the Scholastic philosopher would say. One of the prime reasons for having missions is to bring just such persons back to their duties.

The amount of leakage in the Church therefore is not readily determined, simply because there is no hard and fast definition of a lapsed Catholic. Even those racial strains that are notoriously careless about going to church usually count on having the priest in before they die. A recent notorious swindler who had formally joined an heretical sect was said by the Associated Press to have carried on his person a card saying: "I am a Catholic. In case of accident notify a priest."

I would not be understood as trying to minimize the problem of leakage. Such an attitude would be fatuous. Difficulty in determining the extent of the leakage does not gainsay the all too evident fact that leakage is going on. A fact is none the less real for being imponderable. There is nothing more saddening in clerical life today than the knowledge that such leakage is going on. A sort of parochial phthisis; and we can only hold our breath and hope that it is not galloping. For if every careless Catholic is a potential recovery to the ranks of the fervent, so is every careless Catholic potentially a complete loss. When the Faith is not practised it becomes progressively weakened, and little would be required in the way of scandal or persecution to cause its final overthrow. Faith, like every other virtue, is a spiritual muscle. It thrives on exercise; it atrophies from disuse.

The sources of leakage in modern Catholic life are not hard to see. The Church's teaching that the marriage bond endures till the death of one of the parties is a fertile source of leakage. Catholics (especially the tepid) are far from being immune to their environment. That environment is thoroughly depraved on the subject of marriage. Divorce is taken as a matter of course. Bets are placed at the wedding festivities on the length of time the marriage will last. Catholics break up their marriages on the same slender grounds as non-Catholics; and unable to live continently thereafter, they attempt another marriage and thus debar themselves from the Sacraments. Moreover, because of the prevalence of divorce, the country is overrun with divorced persons. Catholics meet them in a business or social way, dally in their company, fall in love and attempt marriage outside the Church. Unable to receive the Sacraments, they are inclined to leave off hearing Mass. *Pace* the departed spirit of Cardinal Gibbons, mixed marriages are a very hemmorhage of leakage.

The Church's uncompromising teaching on the subject of contraception is another shoal of scandal to many Catholics. They will not take the necessary supernatural means to live up to God's law. Unblushing persistence in the sin brings denial of absolution, if they should go to confession, and they begin drifting away from the Church. Perhaps they even doubt the truth of the Church's teaching in the matter; and once the Church is doubted in any matter, faith is weakened all along the line. Inevitably so; for if she could err on one point of her teaching, she could err on all points.

The social crisis is another cause of upsetting the faith of Catholics. Having only the most confused idea of what the Church's real mission is, they imagine that she is in some way culpable for the breakdown in economic and social life. They forget that the Church can only proclaim principles and suggest remedies. And in this she has been far from remiss. Decades ago when the *laissez faire* attitude was entrenched in the circles of government and industrial management, long before even Theodore Roosevelt was considered a radical for taking an occasional potshot at the big trusts, the official voice of the Church was earnestly counselling a more equitable distribution of the fruits of industry, better living conditions and higher wages for labor, strong curbs upon the concentration of wealth and its attendant power, and the like.

Having thus proclaimed the Christian principles which should govern society, the Church had fulfilled her teaching mission. She has only the most limited resources for carrying her principles into effect. In most countries of the earth her members form a minority. She is not formally represented in the halls of Congress or on the directorates of industrial corporations. She cannot impose a sanction on non-conformity with her teachings. She certainly cannot coerce the world into following her teachings. In most countries she can bring only a very limited influence to bear through the ballot box. In a word, she can only raise her voice in the wilderness of selfishness and greed and appeal to the consciences of mankind.

Thoughtful Catholics realize all this. But there are many unthinking members of the Church who are easily played upon by Communist propaganda. The notion is insinuated into their minds that the Church has been recreant to her duties; that

she has thrown in her lot with wealth and special privilege; that she is all for the *status quo*. If the poor dupes of Catholics who swallow such rot knew anything at all about their Church, they could so easily reply that Leo XIII, Bishop Ketteler, John A. Ryan, *et al.*, were blasting away at the *status quo* before ever a Communist agitator appeared with his soap-box in Union Square. He could point to the wealth of venerable Catholic literature on the subject. Indeed in this matter of the social question, the world resembles very much the tardy scholar who is always back in his lessons. The world today is barely catching up with a lesson in social justice assigned for its study by a Pope of the Church over forty years ago.

But every crisis calls for a goat, and so the Church is picked on by many both within and outside the fold. If Christ were living in the Holy Land today He would doubtless be picked as the goat by His Jewish compatriots and accused of inciting the Arabs to their murderous depredations; though in reality He would doubtless be the only Jew to whom the Arabs would listen with respect and confidence. But there must always be a goat, and many Catholics are blaming their tragic idleness and privations on the Church.

Skeptical literature is a source of loss of piety if not of faith on the part of many Catholics. Skeptical literature has caused even the cedars of Libanus to fall, as when it proved the undoing of a number of priests around the turn of the century. Not having the requisite brain-power and scholarship to unravel a glistening skein of fallacy, they imprudently exposed themselves to such reading with tragic results. A number of the laity today think it smart to read all sides of a question. This might be done with impunity by a ripe scholar and acute logical mind; but it can lead to no good in the average case. And God doesn't promise His sustaining grace to those who wantonly plunge into the near occasions of sin.

Godless education is a prime source of leakage, and those doughty ostriches, the Newman Club chaplains, cannot prove otherwise. Many of our Catholic youth become castaways at the State University. It is not so much what is said as what is not said. The Church is not openly attacked at Harvard, for instance, and Harvard is a mild offender compared to the State Universities. The Church is for the most part simply

ignored. Her teaching, her philosophy, her splendid history, her invaluable contributions to civilization are passed over in sinister silence. Carlton Hayes can only be in one place to see that the Church gets her just dues. If the Church were openly attacked, the faith of the Catholic student would probably be strengthened. He would rally to her defence, and in defending her would clarify and deepen his own convictions. But in an atmosphere where she is ignored, or where sly indirect slurs are made upon her, the faith of Catholic youth is insidiously corroded. There is a saying about Harvard, for instance, that Catholics lose the faith there and non-Catholics gain it. It is true that occasionally a conversion sprouts on the campus of non-Catholic universities.

The prevailing irreligion of our time is enervating to the piety and faith of Catholics, especially since this irreligion is tied in with gross unrestraint in the matter of sex. It is an entirely new brand of paganism we have with us today. The paganism of the ancients was shot through with religion. The Penates clustered under the eaves like sparrows. Today the merest mention of God is usually accompanied with an apologetic simper. Among the ancients the first cocktail would have been poured out as a libation to some deity or other. It would be a rare cocktail hour today that had such a religious tinge as that about it. It is a sensual age, and sensuality is a proverbial darkener of the understanding. You cannot argue for the Faith with a person who is indulging his carnal instincts. When the beast is rampant, the understanding is couchant. The sensualist has no ear for the delicate " melodic line " of the supernatural. The still small voice of conscience, not to mention the Sermon on the Mount, is surely drowned out by the bedlam of the " jitterbugs " and the moaning saxaphone of Mr. Goodman. The only way a Catholic can immunize himself against his irreligious environment is by unremitting prayer and frequent reception of the Sacraments. If he is not a devout Catholic today he is in imminent danger of becoming a lapsed Catholic.

The final source of leakage I would mention is economic and social discrimination. This seems to be the form that future persecutions of the Church will take. The Nazis are employing this means with telling effect. It is said to be taking a devastating toll in Austria. You don't spill the blood of Cath-

olics. This has too often proved a boomerang by arousing what is contemptuously called the " martyr complex ". You rather keep them from getting jobs, from the civil service, and shove them gradually out of the social picture. The Nazi demons know that it takes pretty strong faith to bear up under such treatment as this. Any persecution of Catholics that may arise in this country will probably take this form. Indeed there are already twinges of it. An increasing number of employment agency notices clearly exclude Catholics from the job advertised. There may be no overt bigotry in the offices of the employing company. But it hires through an agency, and therefore the agency can shunt aside Catholic applicants. Catholics report to their parish priests how interviews with employment agents came to an abrupt halt once they had divulged their religious affiliations. This means that if a Catholic is to hold on to his Faith in the future, it will have to be a matter of profound personal conviction with him. The mere inheritance from Catholic parents, sitting lightly on the surface of the soul, will not be able to stand the " gaff ", in that guise. The Catholic will have to possess a solid knowledge of his Faith and build its sinews by the fervent practice of it.

Catholics of the future, in a word, will have to have a tinge of the martyr's fortitude. They will have to value their Faith so highly as to consider the world well lost in exchange for it. If this new style persecution becomes world-wide, as might easily happen, the Church's membership will be greatly depleted of course. In every violent storm the dead branches are quickly blown from the tree. The weak sisters, the brazen users of contraception, the merely Sunday Mass Catholics cannot be counted to stand up under the discrimination that will be brought to bear upon them in an economic and social way. But the Catholics who do endure will be a splendid race. They will be worthy descendants of their ancient martyred forbears in the Faith, who lived and prayed imperturbably in the depths of the Catacombs with the tread of Roman legionaries sounding ominously over their heads, and hearing now and then perhaps the distant roar of the lions in the cages of the Amphitheatre.

The antidote? We must work for a vigorous resurgence of Catholic piety. And this doesn't mean more novenas. One wonders how much stamina there is in novena piety. A minor-

ity in the Church could bring about such a resurgence. Styles are always set by a minority and copied by the majority. A sizeable minority in any parish could by their fervent lives make vigorous piety fashionable and lax Catholicism a matter of reproach. Example is such a powerful teacher and stimulant! We should strive to have such a minority practise its faith unblushingly. They would want to have the grace to die for their faith in a time of persecution; we should exhort them to ask of God the grace to live for it generously in a time of peace.

Such an exemplary minority would be at least weekly Communicants. They would go to daily Mass if at all convenient. They would allow a generous measure of time each day for prayer and a bit of spiritual reading. They would openly practise the corporal and spiritual works of mercy; learn all they could about the Faith; talk it every chance they got; get behind its various movements and join at least one of its various guilds. They would be conversant with Catholic social thought and primed on the fallacies of Communism and the like. They would be Catholics to the core; live their faith to the hilt; exhale Catholicism from every pore of their being. Communists are Communists twenty-four hours a day. We should be Catholics twenty-four hours a day; proclaim its teachings as if the world had never heard of it before; be zealous, though zeal attracts a lunatic fringe. But there was a lunatic fringe among the first Catholics. Their existence is the tax we must pay on enthusiasm. And heaven knows, we sorely need to recapture the primal enthusiasm of the Faith: for the hour is already striking when those who do not live the Faith will lose it.

THOMAS A. FOX, C.S.P.

New York City.

THE ROOTS OF ECONOMIC LIBERTY—AND SECURITY.

The field of economic endeavor, which for a long stretch of modern history successfully annexed many other fields of human effort, now finds itself terrifically exposed to invasion, and perhaps annexation, by political forces. Side by side with the political invasion, however, and still more fundamental, is the philosophical invasion, whereby the very definition of economics is challenged, changed, or swept aside. So true is this that any

" science " of economics is now seen to be entangled with the political thought of its period.

Reason, though capable of mastering any field of human effort, has only the inquiring mind for a pupil, while the whole human race learns, because it must, from the compelling action of history. Reason, in practical affairs, ever seeks the golden mean. But the action of history is from one extreme to another. It swings as a pendulum, in a great arc, back and forth. Wise men do not try to stop a historical movement in its course —they know it will gather its own inertia and stop itself. But they prepare for the return movement. It is the forces destined to prevail, not those on their way to extinction, that must be governed. For though history's pendulum may be too great to be stopped, its arc may be lengthened, or shortened. Let, therefore, the mob court those who govern now—the wise man teaches those who will govern tomorrow.

What have been the swings of the economic pendulum? Economics, to begin with Aristotle, means literally and in reality the science and art of providing for the material needs of a household. Aristotle, good philosopher that he was, insisted on defining this practical science by reference to its end, or purpose. Much that is called economics to-day is merely a description of what takes place, a sort of behavioristic economics, which observes what is, because it has lost the key to what ought to be; it observes actions because it has lost sight of essences. It observes economic phenomena carefully, in the hope that some clue will turn up. It would be legitimate, and much simpler, first to inquire what men ought to achieve by economic effort, than to guess from their actions what it is all about.

But even Aristotle's economics were not sired by philosophy alone. They were geared to match the social conditions of his time, the deepest of these conditions being slavery. Christian philosophy changed all that, but it required time. And when it was changed we find the guild system. Nobody claims that it was perfect, but history, which teaches men most of what they know, assures us that the guilds were an improvement over their predecessor—i. e. the economic set-up of a slave regime.

In many respects the guild system was the antithesis of the slave system. The great evil of slavery was not really an economic evil, but a social evil. When manual work was done

by slaves, free men felt they would be tainted if they did the same work. But people who work inevitably learn, and advance in perfection, even though they be slaves. Slaves rapidly became the tradespeople, merchants, teachers, artists, etc. Such became also, in turn, " tainted " occupations. Those who were not slaves had no choice but to become aristocrats, which was and is a short-cut to distinction and extinction.

There was a way on, however, if not a way out, even for that society—the Christian way. Christianity did not descend to the economic level, and prescribe a remedy there. Society, duly leavened, rose to the Christian level, and found its remedy in the social, not in the economic heritage of the Christian way. Slavery divided men; Christianity overcame slavery, not by opposing slavery, but by ignoring it on the social level. It applied the remedy where the evil lay, on the social level. In consequence, slavery ceased to exercise tension in the economic field. Slavery was no longer perpetuated by a state of mind. And once labor was accepted as necessary (Christianity rediscovered the old law, never abrogated: " In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return to the earth ". Gen. 3: 19), it was soon found to be desirable. The modern world has in another way discovered that labor is desirable—by being deprived of it.

But if man is free, and his labor is now also free, law and regulation become necessary. Individualists profess to see paradox here, in freedom calling for law. However it is not only one man that is free, but all men. It is because men (and there are so many of us) are free, and freedom such a powerful thing, that we need protection and regulation so that nobody's freedom be cancelled out and destroyed by the freedom of another. In fact this regulation and control of freedom is one of the finest training grounds for a right understanding of economics itself, which implies a prudent use of limited commodities for human needs.

The guild system recognized clearly that what happens, or can happen in economics, depends on what happens or can happen to human liberty. But the guild system went an additional step further, a step so daring that the modern world cannot yet muster enough courage to follow it. The guild system at its best, as was to be expected in its swing away from slavery,

regulated economics for the sake of liberty, not liberty for the sake of economics. Under the *laissez faire* of the two hundred years recently ended, we regulated almost nothing, but our purpose in that neglect was above all to leave the economic urge unshackled by any higher control.

Today, in a great reverse, we are almost ready to shackle liberty for the sake of economics. Both policies are wrong. The guild policy was right. It shackled economics for the sake of liberty, believing that liberty could then provide its own economic security. Today men aim at security first, and thence expect liberty. Benjamin Franklin thought such men deserve neither liberty nor security. This procedure leads to inevitable bureaucracy, which in turn is the graveyard of liberty.

We in America think we are prone to take our understanding of liberty from the men of '76. Our Fathers had indeed a remarkably sound political instinct, which we are in process of losing. They knew that, in importance, politics comes ahead of economics. Because they knew the power of politics they knew its dangers, and provided against them by a method which human ingenuity has not yet excelled—by checks and balances. Yet their inspiration was rather to avoid evil in politics, than to achieve good.

Did they know what precedes even politics in importance? —i. e. religion, which alone effectively sways the citizen to obey and coöperate with the government for the common good. Yes, they knew that, but the generation after them fatally took it for granted. The Declaration of Independence, which bases the American position upon the creation of man by God, and upon man's heritage of " inalienable rights " from this Maker, has been called the spirit, if not the letter, of our American Constitution. The Declaration of Independence has been so employed, in interpreting our Constitution, by our Supreme Court on more than one occasion.

It is not the fault of the makers of our Constitution that we have lost their understanding that politics has its roots in the conscience of the citizen. It is the fault of those who should have taught the truths contained in the Declaration of Independence to the succeeding generations, and who failed to do so. The political enactments on which our country is founded and by which it lives, so carefully recorded on the parchments of

Philadelphia in 1776, have not been written in the "fleshly tablets of the heart" of succeeding generations. The Fathers, perhaps, somewhat took for granted, or left to shift for itself, the foundation of all political obligation, which is the free man's primary obligation to God, much as we today, alas, are prone to take for granted even the political liberty, which they so labored to establish. Our State Governments would certainly have the right to teach in the schools what are the foundations of our government, as partly contained (according to our Supreme Court) in the Declaration of Independence. It is silly to say the government cannot teach about God. The Declaration of Independence says something about God, otherwise it could have said nothing about liberty and responsibility. If liberty and responsibility still are necessary to our citizens and to our government, they can still be derived only from the same source—God.

Liberty, which is the cornerstone of our political philosophy, has been a great blessing. It is time, also in the economic field to take steps toward a guaranteed liberty. It is time to take measures to safeguard that liberty where it exists, to restore it where necessary, and above all to extend it. To continue to be a nation such as we have known ourselves to be, we must keep the frontiers of life open. If our America sinks into a mere craving for bread and circuses, by the same token we will be headed for the purge that routed old Rome from her walking dream—a purge from within and from without.

A reasonable amount of encouragement and protection must come from the state in order that economic organization may take place. Not dictation, for we aim at liberty, but co-operation and organization are the watchwords. It is natural, and today it is necessary that men make their living together, as well as live together.

Since the state itself is formed by the coöperation of men, it follows that men are intrinsically able to form associations among themselves for other kinds of self-help, and not alone for political self-help. When our country was born many minds were imbued with Rousseau's teaching that government itself is an artificial device, arising wholy from man's invention. In truth man but obeys the imperious voice of nature, as well as of reason, when he establishes a government.

We were not so badly "sold" on this theory of Rousseau as were the guiding spirits of the later French Revolution. But the natural dispersion, long continued, of our people over a wide and thinly populated area tended to make us individualists by mere process of isolation. We do not greatly enter into associations for mutual help, except under the spur of necessity. Even our great industrial combinations took place only after devastating orgies of individualistic competition. "If you can't lick 'em, jine 'em", has been the American attitude, in business and in politics.

Nobody can say that, with rare gusto, we have not tried in general to "lick 'em". It is an attitude that is wrong all along the line. The wickedness, of which this world is full, cannot be successfully traced and limited to any assortment or collection of individuals, howsoever large. In spite of investigators, wise in their own research, who announce that some men are tall, other short, some with a high I. Q., others low, etc., the most astonishing thing remains that we are so much alike. We might do better to attribute the source of evil to damaged human nature, which all possess, and to the fact of free will, also universal, than to bask in any self-justifying effort to localize the blame in the other fellow, or even in a lot of other fellows. We might even whisper it around that remedies exist for the evil in our nature and in our mentality, being the grace of God, respectively, and His truth.

That done, and a brotherhood of men established on the basis of a common possession of God's grace and truth, we will be on our way to provide for the dignity as well as for the necessities of our nature. For the greatest of our needs is liberty, which is also our dignity. Until we heal the breach within, by a brotherhood in the common possession of God's grace (i. e. the restoration of our human nature in Christ), our laboring and living together will not measure up to the full possibilities of human nature. But since all men are already called to that brotherhood by the voice of Christ, "Going, teach ye all nations", we already have a beginning of that brotherhood in the Providence of God. It is the duty of man's providence to match that of God.

Other things in common we also have, besides the grace of God, which though bitter have their medicinal value. We have

all had the same depression, which gives us the beginning of fellowship, for misery loves company. In short we have every incentive to see that we must begin to look to our neighbor for good instead of evil, and to act our own part accordingly.

Politics also, as well as economics, are what man in his freedom chooses to make them. Politics are the more important, yet as Aristotle saw, economics must come first in individual experience. For unless a man first care for his own household, he is burdening instead of coming to the aid of the commonwealth. The state will not benefit from a man's contribution to politics until that man has first taken care of his own family. Aristotle holds that when a man has taken care of his family, and has wealth and leisure beyond what is required for this purpose, then he should enter the service of the state one way or another. We would not apply that doctrine one hundred per cent in this democratic day, yet the Democrat Grover Cleveland laid down the similar dictum that it is the duty of the citizen to support the government, not the other way round.

Man is a social being, but first we find him in the society of the family, then in that of the state. To-day the state educates man almost from his cradle. This is giving primary place to politics with a vengeance. Are we not hereby teaching our young citizens to expect that the same benevolent hand that rears them, will also feed and nurture them throughout life? Are we not reversing too radically the maxim of Aristotle, that the state itself loses out where families are not self-supporting? In two ways we are taking away that liberty, without which both politics and economics collapse. First, we are teaching our citizens to lean on the government from the cradle on, instead of enabling families to stand on their own economic feet; second, the education now given by the state says nothing of God, without whom political liberty itself has no substratum.

DAMIAN CUMMINS, O.S.B.

Conception, Missouri.

"THE JESUIT": EARLY AMERICAN CATHOLIC JOURNAL.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW:

I read with great interest "*Was This The First American Catholic Weekly?*" by the Rev. James S. McGivern, S.J., which appeared in the REVIEW of November, 1938. I am sorry I cannot throw any light on the "dark points" in regard to *The Expostulator* or *Young Catholic Guide,* but I may be able to throw a little light about *The Jesuit,* which is also mentioned in this article.

The Jesuit, as Father McGivern states, was published on 5 September, 1829, in Boston, by Bishop Fenwick. The managers of *The Jesuit* were known as "The Roman Catholic Auxiliary Society," which was composed of the following members: William Dyer, Thomas Murphy, Roger Flinn, Christopher Paterson, John McNamara, Patrick Moony, James King and William L. Cazneau. The Thomas Murphy mentioned in this group was my great-grandfather, who came to this country from County Wexford, Ireland, in 1798, and settled in Boston, before Boston was a see. It was at his home that the Society held its meetings, and certain papers, regarding the early Catholic history of Boston, were handed down in the family, and treasured as valuable documents, until they finally came into my hands some few years ago, and among them some concerning *The Jesuit.* One is a letter to Bishop Fenwick from the Rev. M. Hurley, the Vicar General of the diocese of Philadelphia, dated 15 September, 1829. Here is the letter:

> *Right Rev. Sir,*
>
> The letter in which you communicated to me the intended publication of *The Jesuit* was brought to the house during my absence from the City, and of course laid over untill my return. The title, I must confess, startled me at first, as I know but too well that it is a name not only peculiarly odious to our Protestant and dissenting brethren, but likewise to many very many superficially instructed and nominal Catholics. All the Priests of the City had the same momentary feeling of surprise and regret. As for myself, I soon surmounted my objection to the name, as I thought I perceived in it a sort of predetermination, and even a pledge, of coming out on the broadest, the most fearless and uncompromising Catholic principles. The first number, which was forwarded to me, proves that I was correct, and that we have reason to look

forward to the *Jesuit* as by far the ablest engine ever employed in the United States to dissipate the dense mist of prejudice, and to display the sun of Catholicism in all its brilliant and undiminished glories. So anxious indeed am I for its success, that I have already undertaken to engage as agent for it Mr. John McGuigan, who has been for some time agent for the *Truth Teller* and Catholic Miscellany, and who is one of the worthiest men I am acquainted with. When I proposed to him the obtaining of fifty subscribers, he seemed to consider it next to impossible; and the rather as Dr. England's paper had but thirty ——. He called however this afternoon to tell me that he thought the number might be had, and to beg me to request you to have fifty copies of the first— and the same of the second number, sent on immediately to him. He requests that they may be forwarded in two bundles,—and addressed to John McGuigan, Post Office. Thus you perceive that if I have been slow, I have not been forgetful, and that *Augustinian as I am* I shall not withhold any service I can render to the *Jesuit*.

Respectfully
and affectionately
Your friend,

/s/ M. HURLEY, V.G.

Sept. 15 - 1829
(*Note on verso*)—Send on several prospectus'.

(*The Truth Teller,* mentioned in the above letter, was started in New York, 2 April, 1825, by the Rev. John Power.)

The second document is a letter written by Bishop Fenwick to the members of the Roman Catholic Auxiliary Society, which he sent to my great grandfather, Thomas Murphy, together with the following note:

Dear Sir, Please do me the favr to read the inclosed, this evening, to the Board that will assemble, as I am informed, in your house, on business with the Jesuit. I remain &

B. FENWICK, Bp. Bos.

The letter directs the Board to suspend further publication of *The Jesuit*. It reads as follows:

BOSTON, JAN. 2, 1834.

Gentlemen,

It is with pain & grief of heart I feel myself compelled to make you the following communication; but the interest I take in, & the regard I have for the peace & harmony, which ought to subsist among brothers of the same *Creed*, and which I am bound by the station which I fill, to cherish to the best of my ability, leaves me no other alternative.

The strife which has of late arisen among the friends of the *Jesuit*, and which, I am sorry to hear, manifested itself to a very disedifying extent in the debate of last night, is of such weight with me that I cannot hesitate a moment to throw myself in between the contending parties, and insist upon peace.

The Jesuit Newspaper was originally instituted to promote the Catholic cause, so dear to us all, among a people not acquainted with its true principles, and to diffuse among them a correct knowledge thereof. But it seems that what was instituted for that best of purposes, (and which I am happy in having it in my power to say has already produced, in a number of instances, the happiest effect) is now becoming an apple of discord & disunion among brethren of the same family—and thus is perverted to nourish among them the worst of passions,—and to subserve the worst of purposes.—In such a horrid state of things how can I hesitate a moment to suppress what thus gives rise to so many angry feelings? How can I look on with indifference at brethren tearing one another to pieces without any regard to the respect they owe to themselves or to the cause they are ostensibly engaged in? How can I, in a word, countenance bitter contention among members of the same Church, who ought to be on every occasion united? "If thy right hand scandalize thee," says the Redeemer, "cut it off, & cast it from thee." I shall act up to this principle. The *Jesuit*, though innocently, has become, even in the days of its prosperity, a rock of scandal, and a stumbling block, it is made to serve as a tool to sever asunder & to disunite the great catholic body of this City—let it be cut off and cast from us—*let it be suppressed* till better feelings are restored, if years elapse before such a desireable state of things it brought about. If *twenty thousand Dollars* were offered for its continuance under existing circumstances, it should not be continued—the spirit of our holy religion would forbid it, as what was originally a *medicine* is now become a *deadly poison* by the bad use which is made of it.

I beg you, therefore, gentlemen, to consider the first number of the 5th Vol. as the last which shall be issued *with my sanction* as a religious Paper. You will of course take the earliest opportunity to countermand any orders you have given in relation thereto, & to disannul any act which may have had in view the continuance of this paper. I am aware that some unnecessary expences may have been contracted even thus far—for these you can draw upon the proceeds of the last year.

You will, I am persuaded, do me the justice to allow that nothing short of the deep interest I feel for the peace and harmony of the Cath. Community here, could have prompted me to take a step which is in appearance so precipitate. I am actuated in it, I assure you, by no other motive than the general good of the Church, & the harmony of the flock. For you personally I have the highest regard. The duty to me has been painful to recur to such a measure which will necesseralily [*sic*] leave our holy religion unprotected against fanatical slanders and the sneers of false religionists; but I am compelled to it.

Please to accept the assurance of my respect and esteem—

✠ BENEDICT, Bp. B'n.

The two letters quoted above are now in the archives of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Massachusetts.

Bishop Fenwick's letter leaves no doubt as to the date when *The Jesuit* ceased publication, but I believe Father McGivern is in error when he states that *The Jesuit* "evolved through the years, and through many trials, into the present *Pilot*, which changed its name I don't know how many times in the first years of its existence—e. g. to the *Catholic Intelligencer.*"

In an article in the *Sacred Heart Review*, Boston, 7 November, 1908, written by Miss Charlotte Johnston, the granddaughter of Thomas Murphy, it is stated that on 16 July, 1831, *The Jesuit* announced that six weeks later its character would be changed and that the title *The Jesuit*, although appropriate for a purely religious paper, would be called *The United States Catholic Intelligencer.* This same announcement appeared every following week during July and August, and with the issue of 27 August the additional announcement was made that, owing to the difficulties "of obtaining an elegant frontispiece, the first number of the *Catholic Intelligencer* will not be issued for a fortnight".

" The paper under this new title," continues the article in the *Sacred Heart Review,* " was published little less than four months, when it took up again in January, 1832, its old title *The Jesuit.* Under this resumed title it was continued until January, 1834, when it was suppressed by Bishop Fenwick." *The Jesuit,* therefore, it would seem, did not " change its name many times in the first years of its existence," but only once, and then only for a very short time. Nor is it true that *The Jesuit* " evolved through the years, and through many trials, into the present *Pilot* ". It is true that *The Pilot* to-day carries the announcement that it was established in 1829, which might easily lead to the conclusion that *The Pilot* evolved from *The Jesuit* which was established in 1829. The fact is that *The Pilot* was not issued for at least one year after the suppression of *The Jesuit,* in 1834. This fact is borne out by data in the Library of Congress in Washington, and the Harvard Library, and by an article by Thomas F. Meehan in the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. XI, p. 694, which gives the date 1835. (It is curious that in another article, in the *Encyclopedia,* Vol. V, p. 115, the same author gives 1836 as the date of the foundation of *The Pilot.*)

Father McGivern says, speaking of the pioneer Catholic newspapers of the United States: " We know that the first was Bishop England's *United States Catholic Miscellany,* founded in 1822." He asks the question then: " Are there others before this time. . . . ? " According to the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. XI, p. 692, under *Newspapers: The Michigan Essay or Impartial Observer,* a weekly, was published as early as August 1809, and *The Shamrock or Hibernian Chronicle* was founded 10 December, 1810. Of the former, only one issue appeared.

Perhaps other readers of Father McGivern's article may be able to give us more light on the " dark points " in the history of pioneer Catholic journalism in the United States.

RICHARD S. CARTWRIGHT, C.S.P.

Washington, D. C.

CATHOLIC ACTION IN ENGLAND.

Nearly two years ago the Archdiocese of Liverpool in England formed its Catholic Action organization in response to the call of the Pope. Prior to that the English hierarchy had issued a joint pastoral stating that Catholic Action was to be formally established in the country and calling upon Catholics to hold themselves in readiness for whatever line of action their bishop should decide upon.

In two of the smaller dioceses, Clifton and Plymouth, a rudimentary Catholic Action organization had already been set up, but little had been attempted beyond a limited coördination of the main societies.

After the joint pastoral the various bishops began the difficult task of working out the type of Catholic Action best suited to their local needs. Two attitudes soon appeared. The Archdiocese of Westminster preferred to hammer out in a certain amount of detail the full scheme so that everything, objects, methods and constitution, should be clear before the work began. After much study and preparation the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster announced the scheme in time for work to begin in September. The Archdiocese of Liverpool, on the other hand, preferred to define the scheme in very broad outline and to leave the detail to be hammered out by action. Thus in this archdiocese Catholic Action has had two years of experience, of mistakes and successes, and has even yet not produced a constitution. This very flexibility has allowed it to seize opportunities that would have been missed if tied down by a rigid constitution.

Two years ago all that was clear were the objectives of Catholic Action and the broad outline of its organization. The Archbishop announced that, having examined the needs of his archdiocese, Catholic Action should deal with three problems, *Catholic Preservation, Catholic Extension*, and *Catholic Social Economic Action*. Under the first section of the task would work those societies directly concerned with preserving the faith, Legion of Mary and Young Christian Workers and various other societies termed auxiliary, while the two mentioned were termed constituent societies. Under the second section were the Catholic Evidence Guild and the Catholic Truth Society as con-

stituent societies supported by various auxiliary societies. Under the third section were the Catholic Social Guild (a student body) and the Public Services Committee (a new body to train Catholics for public life).

The organization was fairly simple. The Archbishop appointed the Board of Catholic Action; the Deans appointed Deanery Councils, and the parish priests appointed parochial councils. The parish councils were the vital part of the organization, as they had to do the work. The deanery councils helped neighboring parishes to apply the plans of the central board to local circumstances.

It did not follow that, because this scheme was prepared, it was operated in all parishes. It has been a slow growth, the success of the work in one parish or one deanery convincing other priests that it would help their parish to push ahead with the work.

At first the central board prepared campaigns that could be undertaken without much preparation and that could produce results which would encourage the Catholic Actionist. These simple campaigns also aimed at providing a certain training for the men and women engaged in them.

One of the early campaigns was to secure increased membership of Catholic societies; another was to spread the Catholic newspapers, and secure better attendance at Mass, Sacraments and Benediction; while yet another campaign aimed at increasing the numbers making retreats.

All of these early campaigns produced definite results. The diocesan retreat house never handled so many retreatants before and very many priests reported their pleasure and sometimes their surprise at the increased attendance at daily Mass, at Holy Communion and at Benediction.

Officially these campaigns lasted a month, but in practice most deanery councils appointed committees to carry on the work so that the good results would not be lost.

After the preliminary trial campaigns a full scheme was prepared to last from March to December, 1938. The general theme was *Sanctification of the Home.*

This scheme first set out the evils militating against the sanctity of the home. Twenty-seven evils were set out. The religious evils were ignorance of religion, worldliness, non-

attendance at Mass, neglect of the Sacraments, neglect of prayer, disappearance of religious sentiment from the home, lack of preparation for marriage, mixed marriages. The moral evils were selfishness, pleasures, infidelity and divorce, etc., want of respect for parents on the part of children, lack of charity in the family, undesirable books, immoderate gambling, lack of restraint in company-keeping, late hours. The social evils were work conditions, housing, public legislation on divorce, birth control clinics, necessity of mothers working outside the home, injustice in business, unemployment, certain aspects of the English relief system, conditions of domestic service, bad housekeeping.

To fight these evils the Catholic Action organization prepared educational work to teach Catholics the Catholic doctrine on the various issues. This covered instructions from the pulpit, study circles, Christian doctrine confraternity, week-end schools, special meetings and lectures, supplemented by articles in Catholic papers and the publication of special pamphlets. The educational work dealt mainly with marriage and the evils affecting marriage. The lines of action carried on the work of the earlier campaigns, press, retreats, Mass attendance, and in addition developed several schemes to meet particular needs.

Among these schemes were several that have worked well. One aimed at reïntroducing Catholic pictures and symbols into the home and by means of a campaign for the consecration of families to the Sacred Heart. Another scheme led to the formation of holiday camps for poor children. Another was the formation of the League of the Holy Family to encourage family prayers. Also the establishment of " inquiry bureaux " to provide information and help on housing, unemployment, pension problems, etc.

The second stage of Liverpool's Catholic Action cannot be described as marvelous, but it is a definite step forward from the earlier campaigns and by this step the Actionists are preparing themselves for more vital campaigns in the future.

The parish councils are encouraged to initiate lines of action to deal with any problem they feel acute in their district. Sometimes parish councils and deanery councils realize that a certain work needs to be done and yet is not within the scope of Catholic Action. Then they find Catholics to do the work outside Catholic Action.

Some indication of the methods and work carried on by the local bodies can be gained from the following notes based on a report of a deanery council secretary.

Parish councils gave over part of their meeting to inquiries on various points. The leader asks questions which are discussed and he makes certain that the correct answer arrives out of the discussion. Here is a sample inquiry on Retreats: 1. What is a retreat? 2. What does the Pope say about retreats? 3. Who are retreats intended for? 4. What is being done about retreats in your district or your society? What percentage of the retreatants are men, women, boys, and girls? 5. Why not more? 6. What are the difficulties? 7. Are there retreat promoters in your district or society? 8. Could you personally persuade one other person to make a retreat? 9. Have all the members of parish and deanery councils made a retreat this year? If not, can they arrange to do so now?

An inquiry was made into Communism in each area and fifty-eight questions had to be answered. This meant a definite amount of investigation and honest facing up to facts.

In this deanery the sale of Catholic papers increased some 400 copies weekly and some 80 more people went on retreat and the increased membership of Catholic societies totaled over 500.

One work done unofficially was a pamphlet on the local public assistance committee and the way it treated relief applicants. This pamphlet did definitely good work.

A youth movement, based on the French and Belgian, J.O.C. and called the Young Christian Workers, was started. This movement has already much to its credit. An Easter Duties campaign brought many young people back to the Sacraments; a campaign against impurity in factories and mines and cinemas produced good results.

A Parent-Teacher Association held monthly meetings at the schools to discuss and solve difficulties of bringing up and educating children both at home and in school. This movement aims at the sanctification of the home through the children. This was the solution worked out for the problem of reaching lapsed or indifferent Catholics. They continued to send their children to Catholic schools and thus the Catholic Action movement could reach these people through their children.

Several study days were conducted to help in the training of Catholic lay leaders.

Now an attack on social injustices is being developed, dealing with low wages, bad housing conditions, high rents, inadequate unemployment relief.

While the various campaigns have been in operation the Central Board has set up different committees to work out the several problems and the best of the laity and clergy have been enrolled to help in working out the problems.

To help in the educational work the Catholic Action Board has set up a college that will give instruction and training in apologetical and social subjects.

In a multitude of small ways the movement is growing and reaching more and more people and undertaking more and more work aiming all the time at the sanctification of the home. As the work goes on the leaders are learning and ideas have changed in the past two years, and the movement develops from an inadequate effort to cope with overwhelming problems into an effective Catholic Action that is really facing up to difficult problems and making headway against them.

If this development can be carried on for a few more years there is a definite possibility that before many generations have passed, England will be once more " Mary's Dowry ".

Liverpool has a cathedral growing and perhaps the completion of that cathedral will be at the time when England is Catholic. That massive Cathedral will be a fitting symbol of the new Catholic life that is growing stronger and spreading itself throughout the country.

R. P. WALSH.

Liverpool, England.

MISSALS AND THE MISSAL.

Many are the missals for the laity, but not all deserve the name " missal " in the same degree. The laity will be better served by missals not sprinkled with embellishment sometimes merely sentimental, sometimes doctrinally not too sound.

On page 1 of a certain missal we read that " the Holy Sacrifice is an offering to the Most Holy Trinity ". On page 2 of another missal the climax of the Mass is pictured as an " offering

to the Trinity ". But the attentive layman wonders how that can be. It is true, he does find two prayers addressed to the Blessed Trinity—one at the end of the Mass, the other after the Lavabo. But otherwise every single word of the Canon, from the *Orate, fratres* to the *Agnus Dei*, is addressed exclusively to the Father.

On page 4 of this missal we read that the first Mass was that of Calvary. But the layman remembers that he has always been taught that the Last Supper was the first Mass.

The " Secreta " is still called " The Silent Prayer " in some missals. The layman wonders why it should be called *the* silent prayer when so many other prayers of the Mass are just as silent. More appropriately one of the missals before me calls it the " Oratio super Secreta."

In many instances the words victim, host, gift, offering, sacrifice, sacrament, occurring in the Oratio super Secreta are printed with a capital letter, as if they referred to the Consecrated Victim. But they invariably refer to the bread and wine over which the " oratio super oblata separata " is said.

In a note preceding the *Orate, fratres* one missal tells the layman that, from then on, " not until the end of the Sacrifice does the priest again turn to the people." But some laymen remember seeing altars where the priest always faces the people. Neither can they quite understand how the Sacrifice can already have ended before the priest turns to the people for the distribution of Holy Communion and at the Postcommunion.

The *igitur* of the first silent prayer of the Canon and the *unde* immediately following the Consecration get a very stiff rendering in the customary " therefore " and " wherefore ". A sigh of humble confidence, joy and satisfaction does, in both cases, find some measure of expression in the simple words " and now ".

By excessively featuring prayers " of remembrance " in the Canon, both before and after the Consecration, some missals stress the secondary action of " remembering " so strongly that the primary action of " offering " is obscured. In some places the idea of " uniting with " is more appropriate and significant than " remembering ".

In an explanatory note one missal says, " . . . as on Calvary He died for us, so now He truly dies for us again ". Another says correctly, " . . . it is impossible that He should die again ".

" His Blood, shed for us to the last drop," explains one missal. But thoughtful doctors and undertakers will question the correctness of that statement. They may recall having heard that Christ died of a " broken heart," which would preclude the loss of very much blood. It may also seem somewhat peculiar to them that an unbloody sacrifice should be made to appear as bloody as is oratorically possible.

Worst of all, the layman is confused by the inconsistencies of the picture theory which has found favor both among missalists and modern catechists. He feels the presence of overwhelming realities, and then is expected to localize them in a mere picture. It is too bad that " *annuntiabitis mortem Domini* " of St. Paul had to be translated into " *show* the death of the Lord," when " announce " or " proclaim " or " call to memory " are just as good or better. Now many seem to think that there must absolutely be a real *show*, a picture, of death. But, try as you may, you will never see in the consecrated little host a " pale, lifeless body," nor " red blood," in the appearances of Riesling or Sauterne. The consecrated bread and wine will always look like food, which they always are, and always are intended to be. The layman dreads the very thought of separation, because he knows there is no separation of any kind in the living Christ really present.

It would be so easy to indicate to the layman how vividly and how sufficiently the formula of Consecration, in particular the words " qui pridie quam pateretur " and " manducate et bibite " and " qui effundetur " recall both the Last Supper and Calvary to the mind of the Eternal Father and to ours.

One missal inserts the following note between the consecration of the bread and the consecration of the wine: " I am now reaching the very heart of the Holy Sacrifice. As on Calvary He died for us, so now He truly dies for us again. As in His Sacrifice on Calvary, His Blood, ' shed for us to the last drop,' was separated from His body, so now on the altar His Blood is consecrated separately from His Body."—Is not the consecration of the bread just as much " the very heart of the Holy Sacrifice " as the consecration of the wine? Would it not be better to omit this note altogether?

Another explanatory note says that " the entire Mass calls to mind the Divine Victim crucified and dying on the cross ".

Against this statement we have the fact that not once in the ordinary prayers of the Mass is the Divine Victim referred to as "crucified and dying on the cross". The Credo has the words *crucifixus, mortuus, sepultus.* Twice the words *passio, resurrectio, ascensio,* are mentioned in one breath, but once as "beata passio". The formula of Consecration has the words "qui pridie quam pateretur" and "qui effundetur". Reference to Christ's death in the three other passages is to stress joy and victory, not pity and compassion: "qui salutem humani generis in ligno crucis constituisti" in the preface of the Cross; "mortem nostram moriendo destruxit" in the preface of the Resurrection; "per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti" in the second of the three prayers following the *Agnus Dei.* Further references there are none. Indeed, if the entire Mass really intended to call to mind the crucifixion and death of the Divine Victim, what an overwhelming array of significant passages the Scriptures would have supplied!

The three prayers following the Consecration are given explanatory superscriptions in most of the missals. For the first of the three prayers the Leaflet Missal has "Offering in Memory;" another has "Calling to Mind". The other two prayers are given rather commonplace titles, like "Offering Prayer" or "Invocation Prayer." The layman would find it more helpful if the following three superscriptions were used: 1. "And now, Father, we offer Thee Thy Son." 2. "Father, let our Offering please Thee." 3. "Father, accept our Offering for the Heavenly Banquet."

There are many other things a faultfinder (like myself) could point out in our many otherwise splendid missals, but let this last one do for the day. In the oration *pro Virgine et Martyre* we read that martyrdom is granted "etiam in sexu fragili". The Queen of Matryrs would consider it more chivalrous if the missalists change their "even in the weaker sex" to "also in the weaker sex".

EDWARD DAHMUS.

Mt. Vernon, Illinois.

Another correspondent has just sent us these further remarks on Missals:

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW:

There are editions of the missal published and highly praised and yet, on looking through some of them, one finds strange omissions. One missal contained no real Act of Contrition. There is an Act given on page 330 of an excellent missal. This reminds me. I drew the attention of a priest publisher to the variations of Acts of Contrition in various collections of prayers and suggested that all should stick to the so-called Baltimore one. He thanked me and said it simply had never occurred to him before.

In a certain missal on page 328, there are " Evening Prayers ". As they really supposed to be given as a model or as sufficient? In this and some other Sunday missals, one noted the absence of a Requiem Mass. For reasons pretty obvious, this is a serious defect.

When missals give prayers for daily recitation or to be memorized, surely the Prayer to the Holy Ghost, the Memorare, the prayer to the Guardian Angel and to the Patron Saint should not be omitted.

It would seem that a serious examination might be made of these new missals and of the additions to them, so that the defects might be pointed out, emendations be proposed and the good points evaluated.

E. P. GRAHAM.

Canton, Ohio.

ROME'S PROPAGANDA COLLEGE.

One of the most remarkable among all the remarkable institutions in Rome is that of the great mission College of the Propagation of the Faith, known popularly as the "Propaganda". This great modern seminary and university was founded to train priests for all the mission countries of the world. Its present form is the result of over three hundred years of historic development—from the humble beginnings by Monsignor Vives and Pope Urban VIII in 1626, through its great progress under the providential influence of the recently canonized St. John

Leonardi, up to its present status as one of the great edifices outside the Vatican State's limits that enjoy extraterritoriality as the special property of the Holy See. It was arbitrarily suppressed by Napoleon in 1809 as "useless," but was again functioning nobly in 1820. Already under Urban VIII it had been placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope, and it has remained so to this day—as one of the most sacred and cared for projects of the Apostolic See.

Its students are gathered from all the far-flung mission countries of the world. But many come from non-mission lands as well, for the training in Catholic spirit during the years of intimate association with companions of all nations and races is absolutely incomparable, unique in all the world. About two hundred and thirty students live there in light, airy modern rooms; while all the students of the great Oriental colleges in the neighborhood—Ruthenians, Roumanians, Ethiopians—come to the Propaganda for the classes. Several missionary congregations also send their students here.

The professors have all been chosen from among men eminent in their respective fields and among their members are represented not only the secular clergy, but also numerous religious orders as well — Benedictines, Dominicans, Redemptorists, Franciscans, Capuchins, Oblates of Mary Immaculate. Besides the regular seminary courses, university courses leading to the doctorate are offered in Philosophy, Theology, and Missiology.

It has been cleverly said that liturgy might be defined as "dogma on its knees". But if anyone were ever to ask for an explanation of the dogma of the Catholicity of the Church, I think he could receive no better answer than to be taken to Propaganda to be present at some function like the following.

On the Thursday afternoon before Christmas (22 December, 1938) there took place the solemn distribution of the medals for academic excellence won during the preceding year.

The Aula Magna was crowded with clerics of many colleges and religious orders; but interspersed among them all were the two hundred and thirty young seminarians of the Propaganda. Here were three Chinese among a group of whites; here six or seven blacks chatting merrily with their white companions; there a whole row of dusky East Indians and slant-eyed Japanese

—with the predominant whites interspersed everywhere, talking and laughing with their colored companions as if they had known them all their lives. In the place of honor sat His Eminence Cardinal Fumasoni Biondi, Grand Chancellor of the University. About him sat several bishops, one of them the Rector Magnificus, Archbishop Costantini, another, the Rector, Monsignor Balconi, and still another, an Oriental with a long white patriarchal beard . . .

The program began with the playing of the Pontifical Hymn by the college orchestra. An American student directed this band of musicians, probably the most international orchestra in the world. Among the group of violinists could be seen the dark face of an East Indian, who bowed away just as industriously as his white brothers around him.

After a review of the preceding year's intellectual events by the Prefect of Studies, Monsignor Romani, a massed choir of about fifty young men, all students of Propaganda, sang Palestrina's " Exultate Deo " for five voices. Msgr. Praglia directed. The music was excellent. Up and down, in and out the melodies surged in glorious classic polyphony. But over and above the effect of the music was the stupendous impression made by that choir of many races. It was the deeper significance of the fact that white and yellow, brown and black choristers were here joined together in brotherly love, banded together in song under the protection of the great Roman Church, mother and mistress of the Christians of the whole world. And as the clear Latin words of the text rang out through the vast hall, one could not help thinking how pleased Christ our Lord must be to see His followers living out in practice His message of peace and tolerance and brotherly love; to see His doctrine literally accepted and fervently practised in at least one little spot in all this storm-tossed, strife-ridden world of ours.

Then followed the chief address of the afternoon, a scientific paper read by Father Leon Veuthey, O.M.C., a member of the Philosophy Faculty, entitled " De Positione Hodierna Problematis Critici ". In clear vibrant Latin, that great common language of the schools of Rome, the words of the speaker were carried to the ears of that great audience from the four corners of the world. Dignified Chinese and bespectacled Japanese students sat there motionless following every step in the presentation of

those deep thoughts and arguments; numerous dark young men from India and Ceylon drank in the syllogisms just as easily as their white brothers from South Africa and Australia.

Once more the cosmopolitan orchestra functioned harmoniously and then the distribution of the prizes took place, a Roumanian student reading out the names of all who received degrees, and of all who were the winners of the prizes. The whole audience was in admiration of the way he rattled off the most extraordinary names—Greek, French, Irish, Roumanian; Ethiopian, Chinese, Japanese and Indian; Ukrainian, Italian, Armenian and Syrian. The only time he stumbled — to the laughter of the assembly—was in reading the name of the titular see of the Rector, "Archiepiscopi Theodosiopolitani," and that was because the name was only abbreviated on his list.

Over seventy medals were distributed as prizes—a first and second prize being given in each section. An amazingly large number of these was won by the students of Eastern rites—Ruthenian, Roumanian, Ethiopian. Fitting applause was meted out to each winner, especially to the many students not of the Caucasian race, and particularly to the blacks of the Ethiopian College, who made a fine picture in their black cassocks and white cinctures and cloaks edged in white—as they knelt before the Cardinal to receive their awards. But the greatest ovation of the afternoon was accorded an East Indian of the Malabar Rite who took the first prize for Syriac, the liturgical language of his Church. Being one of the two hundred and thirty students who also live at the Propaganda, he was very well known to his numerous colleagues, and in great good humor they gave him thunderous applause—not because he excelled in Syriac, but because, besides being extremely dark in color, he was the stoutest student in the College.

The ceremonies closed with the singing of the Mission Hymn, the international student-orchestra accompanying it, and the hundreds of students, priests and religious from the ends of the world swelling the chorus.

I for one left that assembly with an impression that will never wear off, with a memory that will never fade. All the way home a cold Roman winter rain fell in disagreeable torrents; but my heart sang warmly within me, and through my mind rang the sublime words of the mission hymn—

Missionario di Cristo,	Oh the missionary of Christ!
Sol di Cristo lo guida l'amor!	It is only the love of Christ! that leads him on!

Now I realized more than ever before, what it meant to be a Catholic!

CLEMENT C. ENGLERT, C.SS.R.

Rome, Italy.

OBSERVANCE OF FEAST OF TITULAR OF A CHURCH.

Qu. 1. Must a priest who has two missions attached to his home parish celebrate yearly the feast and octave of the titulars of his mission churches?

2. What privileges would the titular Mass on the feast day enjoy if he said the Mass in his home parish and not at the mission?

3. When is the feast day celebrated in honor of Our Lady of Victory?

4. On what day would one celebrate the titular feast of a church named "The Church of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary"?

Resp. 1. The pastor of a church is bound to say the Office and the Mass of the titular of his parish church only. However, if Mass is said on the feast or during the octave of the titular of a mission church, the priest, whether pastor or the one who takes his place there, should say the Mass of the titular of the mission church, according to the rubrics. Usually Mass is celebrated in mission churches or chapels on Sundays only. The feast of the titular is then transferred to the following Sunday, if the rubrics permit, and the titular feast is celebrated as a double of the first class. If the pastor does not say Mass on that day in the mission church, he does not say the Mass of the titular. That duty is performed by the priest who actually says the Mass there.

2. There are no privileges given to a titular Mass on the feast day of a mission church or chapel in the home church. All privileges are confined to the church or chapel itself. If the rubrics permit, the pastor could say a private votive Mass in honor of the mystery or saint in whose honor the mission church has been dedicated. But such a Mass would enjoy no privileges in the parish church.

3. In different parts of the Church, the Feast of Our Lady of Victory is celebrated on various days, a list of which is given by Father Holweck, in *Calendarium Festorum Dei et Dei Matris,*

pages 394 and 447. The date most commonly observed is 8 November.

4. In the same work of Monsignor Holweck, under date of 16 June, there is mention of the feast of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary which is celebrated by the Italian-Greeks of Calabria. However, one may not celebrate a feast with Office and Mass unless mention is made of it in the Roman Missal, Breviary or Matryrology or is included in the diocesan Ordo. If the titular of a church is that of the Blessed Virgin under a title not found in the Roman Missal, Martyrology or diocesan ordo, it is to be celebrated on the feast of the Assumption, 15 August. The date on which the titular of the church of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary is to be celebrated in this particular case must be determined by the local Ordinary, who alone can have such a feast approved for his diocese.

BURIAL OF BAPTIZED OR UNBAPTIZED FOETUS.

Qu. 1. If a foetus has not been baptized, should it be buried in the section of Catholic cemetery that is reserved for unbaptized children?

2. How old must foetus be before such burial is required?

3. If such burial is not required for a very immature foetus, what should be done with same?

4. Is there any prayer or blessing to be said for an unbaptized foetus?

5. If foetus has been baptized, should it be buried in a Catholic cemetery, regardless of how immature it may be?

Resp.—1. It may be buried in the " unbaptized section ".

2. It is not required. It is permitted.

3. It certainly should be buried, and attention is called to the fact that decomposition is very rapid in most cases.

4. No.

5. Yes, a baptized foetus may be buried in consecrated ground. There need be no burial service. Where the family has a plot in a Catholic cemetery there is no difficulty. In many Catholic cemeteries a small plot is set aside for new-born baptized children and a baptized foetus can be interred in such a plot.

POSTURE OF ACOLYTES AT " ET INCARNATUS EST ".

Qu. At High Mass should the acolytes kneel during the " Et incarnatus est "?

Resp. Fortescue, in his *Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* (p. 102), says that the acolytes stand "at their usual place, while the celebrant says the Creed; they genuflect with him. . . . They kneel while the choir sings the words 'Et incarnatus est', etc., unless they are sitting, when they bow only."

"CONFITEOR" AT MASS SAID WITHOUT SERVER.

Qu. Wapelhorst states that the celebrant of Mass without a server or one to answer from the congregation, need say the "Confiteor" but once in the preparatory prayers. Should the "vestri" in the "Misereatur" that follows be changed to "nostri"?

Resp. If a priest celebrates without a server, he should say the "Confiteor" before the Introit only once, omitting the words *vobis fratres*, etc., and saying *Misereatur nostri*, according to Wuest-Mullaney, *Matters Liturgical*, pp. 61-62.

Book Reviews

A LIFE OF OUR LORD. By Vincent McNabb, O.P. Sheed & Ward, New York, 1938. Pp. 197.

This book is not intended to take its place beside scholarly tomes. The *Life* by F. Mauriac approaches close to it in the manner of treatment, but is quite different in tone. English readers will prefer Fr. McNabb's interpretation. The fact that, out of a professed reverence for the Gospels themselves and likewise a dread of keeping readers from the One Life, there are few quotations from the Gospels, indicates that the author wishes to give his own personal impressions; more an interpretation than a Life. It is brief and consequently incomplete. An order of ideas rather than a chronological order is followed. The Galilean events are grouped together and then comes the Judean campaign. One acquires thereby an orderly impression of certain truths.

Repeated refrains and systematic stresses run through the pages. Especially valuable is the idea of the accurate psychology of the Gospel. There is repeated insistence that our Lord never spoke disparagingly of the Jewish priesthood, and that He gave His withering ire to groups, not to individuals. The divinity is brought out by showing that Christ acted as God instead of stating He is God. There is emphasis on the social virtues, and we learn that God's condemnation of sin comes largely from what sin does to one's neighbor.

The publisher tells us that the virtue of the book lies in the fact that it does not invent or embroider. This is not entirely accurate. The changing of the Gospel words to, "I brought forth my Firstborn Son," and "I kept all these words, pondering them in my heart," seems to be embroidery. The reviewer would not agree that the story of the finding in the temple is "of no great historical value". And in fact, to take the characteristics of an English boy of twelve and to apply them to Jesus in the temple is not good exegesis. It would also be difficult to prove that between the Pharisees and the Romans "there was almost complete understanding". That is an instance of seeing something that is not in the Gospels.

However, the publisher's boast of the author's ability to make visible what is in the Gospels but which would certainly be overlooked, while not a compliment to other scholars and spiritual writers, is frequently true. The author's deserved reputation for liveliness and spiritual insight is well known. There is a touch of poetry and a wistful charm in many of Father McNabb's comments. One is delighted with: "It was God, the poet, who arranged that this coming of the Son of David, the shepherd lad of Bethlehem, should be first published to a group of Bethlehem shepherds." At the baptism of Jesus we learn that "in

duels of humility between God and man God is always the victor". The treatment of the precepts is exceptionally good, as is the view on Jesus and the Pharisees. Many in our day will also be impressed by the sentence: "A courteousness, filled with mirth, makes the Teacher rarely tell one parable for men without adding one for women."

The main difficulty with this Life lies in its limitation to those who are already quite well acquainted with the Gospels. It is doubtful whether the reader will be driven to the Gospels themselves, since Father McNabb has delved deeper than the average reader can go. Some passages in the book appear to be strained and the exact meaning is not always clear. "When we pass from this dogmatic teaching to our Lord's moral teaching we have passed from what is supernatural to what is natural." The author leaves the impression that the Galilean ministry lasted only nine months, and then states that the mystery of the Trinity was sufficiently taught by the end of the Galilean ministry. The rendering of "Hail, full of grace," as "Hail, your Gracious Majesty," appears like the embroidery of court life added to the simplicity of the Gospels. Solid exegetes would not agree that St. John wishes us to see in the Cana wedding "the authority of His human mother over her divine Son," or that it was "at the will of His mother He began His apostolic life by using His miraculous powers".

THE EUCHARIST AND LIFE. By Martin Jenneskens. Adapted from the Dutch by G. Rybrook, Ord.Praem. Paterson, N. J., St. Anthony Guild Press, 1938. Pp. 157.

As an exposition of the supernatural life which flows from the Eucharist, this book has some splendid pages. The explanation of grace and of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit is above most of that which we find in the ordinary Eucharistic manuals. Much theology is plainly put in this little volume. Perhaps the most successful element in the book is the manner in which the individual is raised and induced to surrender his will to God.

The mystical body is also successfully treated. The general impression made by the book, however, is that individual striving for perfection is the main objective in life. One may not deny the truth in such a thesis, and yet the matter can be so treated that there is neglect of the obligation of love of neighbor. In other words, the passive virtues are here exalted. The idea seems to be, sanctity through mortification of self to the neglect of the great social problems. There is indeed no sanctification of society without the prior sanctification of self, but there is disproportion also when one is led to neglect social issues and think mainly of personal advancement. Such a philosophy is not preached in the book, but it is inherent there.

The Mass receives stress mainly as satisfaction (55-56). There is constant reference to Christ as Victim (70, 71, 107, 144). The notion of interior immolation is very well done. The idea of bringing or offering the bread and wine and the notion of an external, objective transfer to God are minimized. One also wonders why that which is not defined truth should be printed as though it were. "Each increase of supernatural life must come through Mary" . . . "The archangel Gabriel proposed to her to become the Mother of *two*, Jesus and us, the Redeemer and the redeemed." . . . "She must form Jesus in us" (38, 39, 155). Finally, the laity might receive a wrong impression from this sentence: "Thus Holy Communion is a completion of the Mass" (70). The Mass is complete without the Communion of the faithful.

MEDIEVAL HANDBOOKS OF PENANCE. A Translation of the Principal Libri Poenitentiales and Selections from Related Documents. By John T. McNeill and Helena Gamer. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. xiv + 476.

The average priest has probably read and heard much about the medieval Penitentials without getting an opportunity to read them. The works in the original Latin are not readily accessible, nor are they easy to translate. The present volume puts translations of a considerable number of them into our hands.

The translations had to be made from the unsatisfactory existing editions. Miss Gamer has, however, made a study of the manuscripts and without making one wait interminably for critical editions, has been able in many instances to correct the text. She has been concerned with the paleographical and textual problems of the work. Mr. McNeill is responsible for the translations. In a notice accompanying the review copy it is stated that "the translators . . . in many instances studied the texts in the original before attempting to render them into English". This damning faint praise for scholarly work must have escaped the attention of the editors of the series.

In the introduction McNeill treats briefly of penance in the ancient Church and offers a short discussion of the Penitentials. He is quite abreast of the best literature on the subject. He maintains that private penance was not practised until the discipline of the Penitentials arose in Ireland and Britain and thence spread to the Continent. Though he does not write in a controversial spirit in this matter, he clearly indicates his agreement with Poschmann and Amann against Galtier and Karl Adam, to mention only the Catholic camps. He might have cited Poschmann's reviews of the works of Hoh, Galtier

and Jungmann in *Theologische Revue* (1933, 257-273), to show that attack had not shaken that author's convictions. One misses an explanation for the fact that canonical penance was so often deferred until the death-bed in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, whereas people regularly received Holy Communion during life. Amann in his excellent "Pénitence", *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, XII*, cited by McNeill, points out in column 841 that the desire of eventually receiving penance at the hour of death, together with personal acts of repentance and contrition, were evidently considered sufficient to purify souls from sin. It is the doctrine of perfect contrition, called *compunctio* in the early period. On the development of the theory in the Scholastic period, it would be well to consult A. Landgraf, "Reue" in *Lex. für Theol. u. Kirche* and the accompanying bibliography.

Contrary to the statement on page 29 that the bishops at Toledo (589) in forbidding the iteration of penance did not know of the Penitentials is the fact pointed out by Poschmann that there was insular influence on the Church in Galicia. (See *Die abendländische Kirchenbusse im früheren Mittelalter*, and the reviews just mentioned). There seems to be little reason for pointing out a "striking resemblance" (p. 31) between the singing of psalms prescribed by the Irish Penitentials and the penitential singing of sacred hymns in ancient India as prescribed in the Brahman codes. The same holds good for the cross-vigil, in which the Irish penitent was to stand with his arms extended, and similar methods of Hindu asceticism (p. 32). The use of the discipline did not, of course, end with Ignatius of Loyola (p. 33). The new edition of the *Historia Francorum* by Krusch should now be used (p. 20, n. 90). Read Kurtscheid for Kurtschied (Index and bibliography). Read Gratien for Gratian in the French title (pp. xiii and 453). Cabrol-Leclercq had reached nine volumes in 1930, but thirteen in 1938 (p. 453).

The various Penitentials are prefaced by remarks concerning their authenticity. As McNeill indicates, much work remains to be done in this field. Since the publication of this book, Professor M. L. W. Laistner has contributed an article to the *Harvard Theological Review* (October, 1938) in which he rejects Bede's authorship of the penitential which McNeill is inclined to attribute to him.

The present book will be especially welcomed by teachers of church history and those interested in the history of penance. It is to be hoped that the authors will continue their work on the Penitentials and along with Professor Oakley build up our English bibliography on this truly interesting subject.

SAINT BRAULIO, Bishop of Saragossa (631-651), His Life and Writings. By the Rev. Charles H. Lynch, Ph.D. The Catholic University Press, Washington, D. C., 1938. Pp. xii + 276.

In the last analysis the critical evaluation of such a work in the light of its precise *raison d'être*, which is that of a particular contribution to historical science, pertains to a rather limited number of scholars in the field of medieval history, able technically to appreciate and specifically to profit by it. Such a definitive review, however, must almost necessarily await time and correlative research, nor is it likely adequately to consider the whole in the light of its general values. These latter, discernible even to a much broader approach, almost demand the suggestion that, as typical of the tireless research, painstaking coördination and thorough supervision characteristic of the dissertations published by the Catholic University, this study will no doubt be judged eminent among them, and merit no insignificant place in the general perspective of American scholarship.

The subject of the treatise was the greatest classicist of his day; which, however, the author admits is but faint praise in view of the low cultural level of Braulio's time. There is little attempt at an appraisal of the saint's works from the standpoint of either style or content, such as the title might lead one to expect, and which the fact itself would seem to demand, since together with Braulio's early association with Isidore of Seville it must have substantially contributed to his influence on Visigothic culture, the extent of which is the author's primary concern. The greater part of the work is biographical, the remainder a discussion of Braulio's writings with a view to authenticity and present sources.

Since such a treatment had not been previously attempted, the author had the laborious foundational work of division and preliminary interpretation, and from an exhaustive search of all the possible, yet very meagre, source material, he has presented a rather complete portrait. The coloring might have been improved had the author not been quite so strictly " literal rather than literary " in his translations and interpretation of the Latin. He has thus frequently failed to be as illustrative of his point as he might have been, especially in the delineation of Braulio's character. The material is almost entirely taken from Braulio's letters, and the connotation of a person's writings is quite as important for an estimate of the individual as is their strict denotation.

Considering what is ultimately said, the treatment could be briefer. It has the justifiable excuse for, but at the same time the somewhat doubtful merit of establishing the most conclusive conjectures on rather inconsequential matters of Braulio's life, and there is sometimes

the impression that a number of elaborately detailed premises have failed to coalesce into a conclusion. These minor treatments, of course, result from the minimum of definite evidence, so that this point and that are grasped at as at a straw, and the explanation often seems to create rather than clarify the issue. Moreover, there are several ultimately unimportant but none the less glaring inconsistencies in argumentation.

As a hagiographical writing, the work is sane and fortunately bereft of the extravagance too often found in such works. The unique mark of the whole is perhaps the author's evident impartiality. Despite all the conjecture and hypothetical postulates, he has begun with no preconceived idea and has remained objective to the end. Braulio was but a minor star in the patristic constellation. Although he is the hero, as it were, of these pages, he is not made heroic, and he is properly viewed in his native setting rather than in the light of present-day ideas and ideals.

Whatever authoritative scholars in this field may think of the author's position on the several debatable questions involved, they will certainly be constrained to consult and seriously to consider it. In all, the work is well written and documented, and bespeaks an admirably capable direction and guidance, as well as a highly commendable interest and industry on the part of the author himself.

S. ANSELMI CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI OPERA OMNIA. Vol. Primum. Ad fidem codicum recensuit Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, O.S.B. Steiermark, Germany: Verlag der Benediktinerabtei Seckau. Pp. ix + 290.

What promised to be the first complete edition of St. Anselm's works to appear since the Gerberon edition will probably get no farther than this first volume if rumors of Nazi activities are correct. It is reported that the Sekau monastery has been restricted to an extent that will prohibit the appearance of the four remaining volumes. This is to be sincerely regretted, as Dom Schmitt was doing a piece of research that is an excellent contribution, as Dom Andreas Wilmart was preparing the prayers and meditations of Saint Anselm.

The first volume is excellent. The contents: I. Monologion; II. Proslogion—1. Proslogion, 2. Sumptum ex eodem libello, 3. Quid ad haec respondeat quidam pro insipiente, 4. Quid ad haec respondeat editor ipsius libelli; III. De grammatico; IV. De Veritate; V. De libertate arbitrii; VI. De casu diaboli; VII. Epistolae de incarnatione verbi prior recensio. Four reproductions of pages from codices embellish the volume, adding no little to its attractiveness.

Variant readings, parallel passages from other authors, particularly from St. Augustine, short notes and references appear as footnotes on each page. The arrangement is such that the reader is not distracted from the words and thought of St. Anselm. Students of theology, philosophy and history will find this new work much to their liking, and will look forward to the time when the complete edition will be available.

ST. MARY'S IN JERSEY CITY. By John Francis Gough. Preface by the Rev. Thomas F. Burke. New York: The Burr Printing House. Pp. xvi + 256.

In his preface, Father Burke tells that this history of the parish of which he is pastor was inspired by Monsignor Peter Guilday's article in the September, 1935, REVIEW. Mr. Gough's book makes that article very worth-while indeed, and encourages the hope that it will be the inspiration of other equally well written parish histories.

St. Mary's parish was erected eighty years ago. Four pastors and seventy-six assistants have served the needs of a shifting population, which still remains predominantly " Irish ". The story of the progress, changes and trials of the parish is told in the body of the book; biographies of priests who served the parish and other interesting but extraneous items are contained in an Appendix. Mr. Gough has done a good job in making persons and events of the past vivid. Of Monsigner TerWoert, the colorful third pastor of the parish, he writes: " He was outright in deeds as in words. There is an indication that in the early 1880's when an injunction was delaying the building of the school sewer at Lambertville, he disregarded the injunction and had the sewer built . . . while St. John's Church in Jersey City was in the course of construction and there was suddenly handed to him a writ, he chased the process server in an attempt to make him take back the paper."

This book will be appreciated by present and past members of St. Mary's parish. It will be valuable for the historian in later years, for Mr. Gough has cited his references in eighteen pages of notes.

LE RETOUR OFFENSIF DU PAGANISME. Gustave Combes, docteur ès-lettres. Paris, P. Lethielleux. Pp. 343.

A considerable portion of present-day French writing is devoted to the study of the organized opposition to and effort against Catholicity. The volume in hand is one of the most noteworthy books on this subject. The author describes the currents of thought from which present movements have originated—rationalism, naturalism, the over-glori-

fication of the state, and finally Marxism. He then proceeds to what he considers the three intellectual currents now running against the Church—laicism, Bolshevism, and Hitlerism. In the eyes of Doctor Combes these three are movements adapted to the mentality of the peoples to whom they are primarily directed—laicism to the French, Bolshevism to the Russians, and Hitlerism to the Germans. In a sense they constitute three aspects of current anti-Christian activities throughout the world.

The last section of the book is taken up with the troops actually engaged in this anti-Christian warfare. Doctor Combes here limits himself to the attack on the Church in France itself. These forces, as he sees and describes them, are masonry, the high-sounding but venomous "Ligue des Droits de l'Homme," the revolutionary syndicates and finally the international godless movement. The book is free from the rather puerile nationalism which vitiates many of its type, and is definitely worth reading.

SAINT THOMAS AQUINAS: MEDITATIONS. Adapted from the Latin of the Rev. P. D. Mezard, O.P., by the Rev. E. C. McEniry, O.P. Somerset, Ohio: The Rosary Press. Pp. xix + 496.

This book of meditations is apt to appeal to the average priest. There is a meditation for each day, and at the end of the book some material for retreats. Each meditation is short, but in each there is plenty to think about.

The ideas, and even the words with few exceptions, are those of the Angelic Doctor, and so they are clear, convincing and replete with true love for God. The work indeed may fairly be called a "compendium of the Summa". The *Medulla*, which first appeared more than three decades ago, it well known to priests in the original Latin. In its English dress it will be welcomed by priests and laity, although some will regret that Father McEniry did not use the editorial shears in parts.

WHY AM I TEMPTED? By F. J. Remler, C.M. Paterson, N. J., St. Anthony Guild Press. Pp. vi + 110.

The causes of temptation, the author sets forth, are the enmity of Satan, original sin, the world and its spirit, our past sins, and certain physical causes. The explanation is clear, concise and forceful. In addition to the causes of temptation, the author discusses the nature and elements of temptation, unwilful and wilful temptations, the benefits that may be derived from temptation, what one's conduct

should be during temptation; and under instructive examples he cites Tobias, St. Paul, St. Mary of Egypt, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Mary Magdalen de Pazzi, St. Vincent de Paul, the Curé of Ars and our Divine Saviour.

There is a logical sequence in the presentation of the factors which will commend itself to thinking Catholics. One has to read Father Remler's book, however, to get the full value of the splendidly lucid arguments which he advances to show that " virtue is made perfect in infirmity ".

Book Notes

The second volume of *Theologia Biblica* is concerned with the tract *De Sanctissima Trinitate.* Father Ceuppens has done a piece of work comparable in every way with his previous excellent studies. This volume considers the teaching of the Old and the New Testament on the mystery of the Most Blessed Trinity, the greater portion, naturally, being concerned with the New Testament. With the increased interest now evinced in biblical studies, Father Ceuppens' *Theologia Biblica* is certain to find wide popularity in American Catholic seminaries and universities. (Rome, Collegio " Angelicum." Pp. xi + 263.)

Le Dieu des Chrétiens, from the busy presses of the Editions Spes in Paris, is the latest book of Abbé Felix Klein, whose *Human and Divine Life of Our Lord* met with such popular acclaim. The new volume is a synthesis of what theology and history teach of the Blessed Trinity. The purpose of the author is to encourage love for and devotion to the Triune God. Professor Klein has succeeded in presenting an understandable, theologically accurate and well written book on the Blessed Trinity.

The Priest's Saturday devotion for the sanctification of priests and seminarists, which originated in Germany, is being introduced and supported in the United States by the Salvatorian Fathers. No enrollment in any society or confraternity is required. The faithful are encouraged to pray and to offer Mass and Holy Communion, especially on the first Saturday of the month for the sanctification of priests and candidates for the priesthood. The Society of the Divine Saviour, St. Nazianz, Wisconsin, has published two pamphlets and a leaflet to promote the movement. The first pamphlet is an explanation of the practice; the second is made up of prayers and devotions for " Priests' Day ". Besides the spiritual fruits of this pious practice, it is certain to increase the love and personal devotion of the laity for their priests.

The tenth volume of the Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin, *Hugo de Sancto Victore Didascalicon de Studio Legendi* by Charles Henry Buttimer, Ph.D., will be welcomed by priests who keep up their reading in Latin and who are on the lookout for new and worthwhile texts. Dr. Buttimer has provided a modern critical text which is a decided improvement on any previous printed text of the *Didascalicon.* A series of indices add to the value of the volume. Sources, parallels and variants, indeed the whole critical apparatus, are so arranged that they will not interfere with the ordinary reader who is more interested in the text itself than in scholarship. The University is to be congratulated upon its splendid series of studies and the authors are deserving of encouragement. The one way to encourage an author is to read his books. (Washington, The Catholic University of America Press. Pp. lii + 160.)

Because he could find no written history of Ireland's devotion to the Blessed Virgin, the late Father Henry Berghman " carefully noted down " all the records

he could find of Ireland's manifested love for Muire Mháthair. At his death in 1920 he had a folio manuscript of a thousand pages, with illustrations of architectural, artistic, geographical and archaeological interest, which he titled "Hibernia Mariana." That manuscript and her own research provide the material for Mrs. Thomas Concannon's *The Queen of Ireland*. (Dublin, M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd. Pp. xxi + 369.)

Mrs. Concannon has written a good historical account of Ireland's devotion, and in these pages are gathered stories, prayers, verses and historic facts from widely separated sources. The litany in the *Leabhar Breac* and the "Protecting Corselet of Mary" are beautiful poetical examples of Irish love and devotion. The book could have been somewhat condensed without real loss of content. Those interested, however, will find it exceedingly good.

The thirtieth edition of Bishop Noll's *Father Smith Instructs Jackson* is the one priests will get when they order a few copies for their convert class. This book, with Father Ostheimer's *Instructions for Non-Catholics before Marriage*, make a combination that priests throughout the country have found invaluable for prospective converts and pre-marriage instructions. (Huntington, Indiana, The Sunday Visitor Press.)

Volume XII (December) of the revised and newly edited Butler's *The Lives of the Saints* crowns the labors of Father Thurston, Donald Attwater and Norah Leeson. About eighty notices have been added to Alban Butler's text, and the work on the new volume is equal to that done on the preceding eleven. The record, of course, is not complete and some readers may look in vain for a particular saint's life, but these twelve volumes undoubtedly give the best available collection of the lives of the saints in the English language. (New York, P. J. Kenedy & Sons. Pp. xiv + 355.)

Father Desplanques has written his book of meditations, *La Messe de Ceux qui ne sont pas Prêtres* for the laity, and particularly for those who attend Mass frequently. The meditations are quite short, and are based on the words and actions of the ordinary of the Mass. The style is simple and practical, and the French is not too difficult. (Paris, Editions Spes. Pp. 256.)

Mint by Night is the title song of Father Alfred Barrett's first collection of verses. His work, however, is well known to readers of Catholic periodicals to which he is a frequent contributor. *Mint by Night* is not great poetry, and likely enough very little of it will be remembered a generation hence, but there is real beauty in many of the verses and true spirituality. It is a book that lovers of poetry will want to read, and having read will have no regret. (New York, The America Press. Pp. 65.)

Father James F. Cassidy has translated the Rev. Paul Piron's story of the apparition of the Blessed Virgin at Beauraing under the title *Five Children*. The story tells of Our Lady appearing to five little Belgian children late in the year 1932. The story is told in detail, and much of the actual conversation of the children and interested persons on the scene is reported. Father Cassidy adds a bibliography, all made up of French publications. American readers who are interested in the story will appreciate Father Cassidy's translation, which incidentally appears to be very well turned. (New York, Benziger Brothers. Pp. ix + 195.)

The brief biography of the short life of Jacques Bernard which appeared in the columns of *The Torch* is now available under the title *My Little Missionary* (New York, Benziger Brothers. Pp. 121.) Written by the Rev. E. Letourneau, O.M.I., and translated by Mary A. Gray, it tells the story of the little French Canadian who when he died at the age of nine left behind a reputation for unusual holiness. The book is written in a laudatory vein, with little or no critical discrimination. It does however tell a very interesting and edifying tale.

Mother Mary Duffin's life of the *Venerable Mother d'Youville* was written principally for members and friends of the Congregation. It is written in broad outline, studded with personal touches and excerpts from letters and other bio-

graphies. The purpose of the book, as Bishop Alters points out in his Preface, is to help "others to catch something of the enthusiastic religious spirit of this saintly woman". While the book is not intended to be a serious contribution to American Church history, the large number of illustrations from old photographs and pictures give it historical value.

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